



From Autonomy to Independence  
The Challenges of Nation-Building in South Sudan

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### **Dedication**

To the amiable, unrelenting spirit of the people of South Sudan

To the hope and faith in a people's destiny

To the promise that freedom is never free

To my beloved parents, Mrs. Akwanga nee Hilda Enanga Mbongo and John Nembu Zah Akwanga for teaching me the true meaning of courage and how to stay the course even in the midst of insurmountable adversity and trials. To my caring and loving wife Agnes whose unwavering love and support I shall always treasure.

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In 1997 I was kidnapped, brutally persecuted, detained, sexually assaulted, molested and dehumanized. As if this were not enough for my kidnappers, they kept me in solitary confinement for 24 months, and fed me with human excrement when I was hungry and human urine when I couldn't hold back my thirst any longer. I was physically and psychologically thingified, depersonalized, dehumanized and *demanified*. This was the worst moment in my physical existence, a period of inner reflection and questioning, a moment which redefined my being. The process of writing this thesis has been a journey, not only of knowledge and a thousand miles, but of insurmountable frustration, excitement and determination. As torturous as it has truly been, the study vividly captures the pain, hardship, sacrifice, and endurance, as well as the frank criticism and outpouring of love and understanding that have guided this journey.

I strongly believed in the indivisibility of mankind and that if the world truly cherishes the ideal of a permanent positive peace for all conflict-prone regions of the world, understanding the complexity of each conflict and seeking solutions based not on books alone but on every reason that makes the conflict inevitable, must become the *sine qua non* of our time.

The successful completion of this study is a cardinal milestone in my academic path. I feel humbled that God has been with me at all times and made all things possible through faith. As I look to the future, one that is laden with ever greater expectations than those for which I was illegally jailed for 20 years for defending the very existence of my people, I take comfort in sharing a faith with the people of South Sudan that God will be with us even in these trying moments of our nascent history as an independent nation.

An undertaking of this magnitude is rarely an individual effort. The planning and execution of this study incorporated the contribution of many individuals. Words cannot express the deep-seated gratitude which I carry in my heart – they pale in the shadow of joy.

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UKZN is a wonderful university that is home to fascinating, hard-working individuals who more often than not would risk everything for their students' success. I benefitted from this extraordinary largesse with the support of the Acting Dean of the School of Social Sciences, Professor Stephen Mutula, my friend, brother and academic stimulus whose unrelenting, unbiased and constant enquiry enabled the completion of this study. I am equally indebted to my co-supervisor Dr. Janet Muthuki Muthoni, who became my friend and sister, for her timely and constant feedback on my work. Her influence on this work is immeasurable. I am deeply grateful for her passion to see me succeed.

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true incarnation of love, the true meaning of a wife, the reason why this study is what it is today. To you I am indebted for life. Above all, my gratitude goes to my best friend and son, Leonard-Spencer Nembu-Meka Akwanga, Jr whose presence did not make the research easy, but who injected valuable fun and laughter when much needed.





## **Abstract**

This study explores the dynamic process of the now Republic of South Sudan's achievement of independence after years of autonomy, with a focus on the challenges confronting nation-building efforts in the world's youngest nation. The author has a special interest in the study because of his direct involvement in the struggle for external self-determination in his Homeland, the former Barotseland. He followed the events prior to, during and after South Sudan's independence with close interest. The hope of attaining independence endured for decades, even when the country was in the grip of one of the most disastrous civil wars. Despite immense challenges and setbacks, South Sudan has managed to rise from the dust of civil war and the limitations of a contradictory autonomy to a new dawn as an independent state. The purpose of this study is fourfold. First, it examines recent national and international processes that contributed to the making of the world's youngest country, the Republic of South Sudan, grounding the discussion on the nation-building theory. Secondly, the study provides a case study analysis of other African and Asian nations that have undergone similar or near-similar nation-building processes. Thirdly, through an empirical investigation using primary data, the study identifies the challenges confronting South Sudan in its nation-building quest, and considers the country's future prospects. Finally, based on the available literature, the study makes a number of recommendations regarding the challenges facing this young, troubled, yet promising nation.

*Keywords:* South Sudan, nation-building, self-determination, social integration, state building

## **List of Acronyms**

ALF	Africa Leadership Forum
ANC	African National Congress
APCJ	Africa Peace and Conflict Journal
ASF	Africa Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUPF	African Union Peace Fund
BCPR	Bureau for Conflict Prevention and Recovery
CDA	Conflict Development Analysis
CEWs	Continental Early Warning Systems
CIMIC	Civil-military cooperation
CIVPOL	International Civilian Police
CNS	Council of National Security Cooperation in Africa
CPE	Complex Political Emergencies
CSSDCA	Conference on Security, Stability, and Development
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration
DESD	Decade of Education for Sustainable Development
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSRSG	Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary General
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMOG	Economic Community Observer Monitoring Group

ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
EW	Early warning
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FEWER	Forum on Early Warning and Early Response
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HINGOs	Humanitarian international nongovernmental organisations
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICTJ	International Centre for Transitional Justice
IDDA	Industrial Development Decade for Africa
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFI	International financial institutions
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund in the 1990s
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IPE	International political economy
ISF	International Stabilisation Force
ISSR	Internal Security Sector Review (Kosovo)
JOC	Joint Operations Committee
MDG	Millennium Development Goals

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
NIEO	New international economic order
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ODA	Official development assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECD DAC	OECD Development Assistance Committee
ONUSAL	United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador
PCDA	Peace and conflict-related development analysis
PCIA	Peace and conflict impact assessment
PSC	Protracted social conflict
RECs	Regional economic communities
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural adjustment program
SCR	Security Council Resolution
SoSD	Secretary of State for Defence
SoSS	Secretary of State for Security
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary General
SSR	Security Sector Reform
SSSU	Security Sector Support Unit
TRF	Transitional results framework
UN HQ	United Nations Headquarters, New York
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone

UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDG	United Nations Development Group
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPA	United Nations Department of Political Affairs
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
UN-NADAF	United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa
UNOMSIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone
UNSG	United Nations secretary-general
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNTEAS	United Nations Transitional Authority in El Salvador
UNU	United Nations University
UPEACE	United Nations University for Peace

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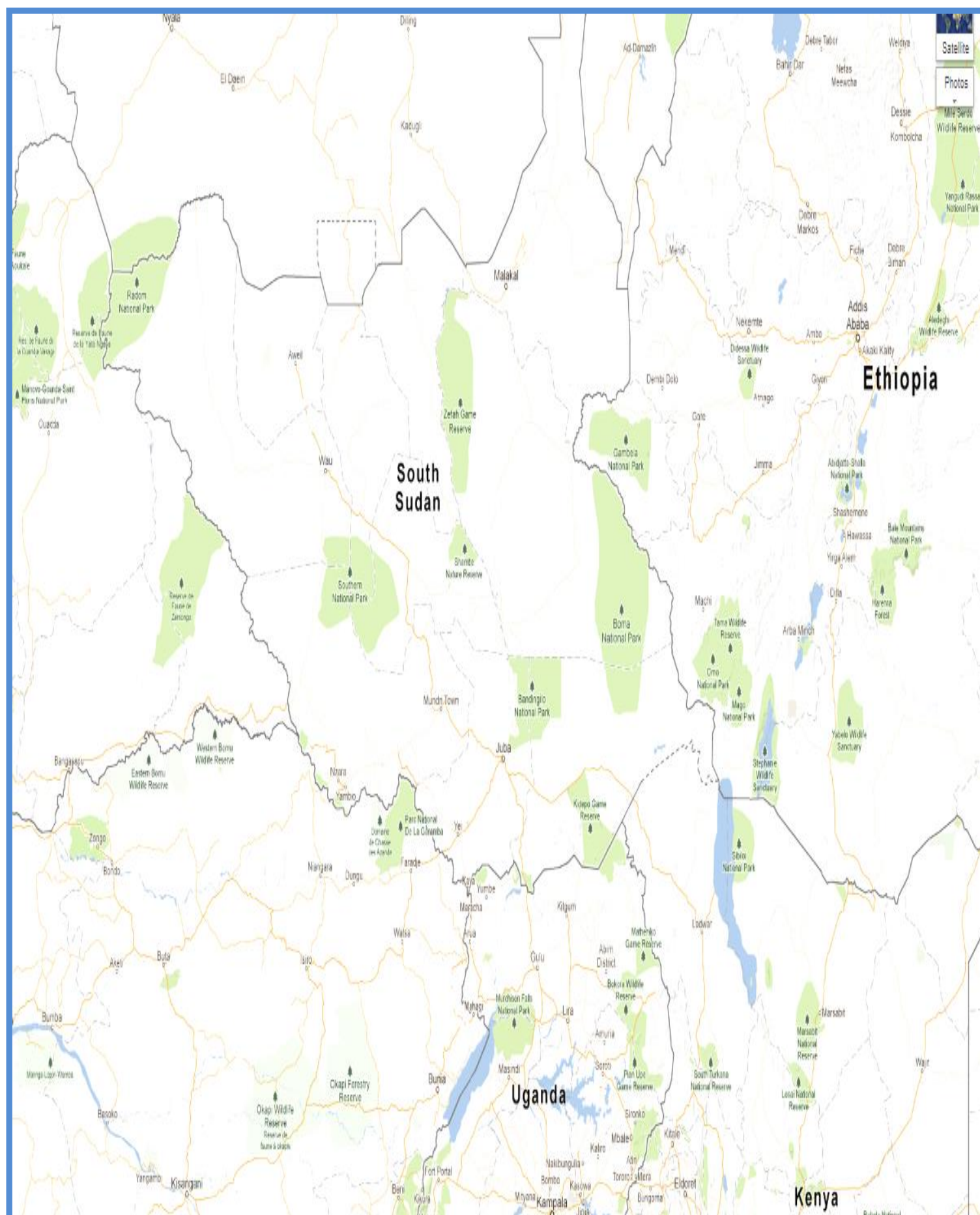
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## Satellite Map of the Republic of South Sudan



## CHAPTER 1

### 1.0 Introduction

#### 1.1. Preamble

After the first brutal civil war (1955-1972) between the North and the South regions of the former larger Sudan, a truce was only attained after a peace agreement. This agreement provided for the division of the country in two regions, with Southern Sudan gaining autonomy from Khartoum's administration (the now Sudan republic).

However, this autonomy would only last until 1983 when another civil war broke out that dwarfed the 1955 civil strife in intensity. South Sudan subsequently lost its autonomy to the aggressive and wanton North, under the Khartoum government.

The Civil War continued until 2005, making it Africa's longest and deadliest civil war. In 2005, another truce was reached under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The CPA resulted in the restoration of South Sudan's autonomy following a nationwide referendum in which the people of Sudan chose to create the world's newest nation, South Sudan (Azar and Moon 1986).

On 9 July 2011, the people of South Sudan celebrated their independence after half a century of war, struggle, suffering and oppression. They had lived through three decades of war and lost more than two million people. This historical moment held out the hope of peace for the people of hitherto oppressed South Sudan and northerners, and was a jubilant occasion for the huge population of Sudanese in the Diaspora, a welcome development for neighboring nations already overburdened with refugees and a relief for the international community. The significance of the referendum and subsequent independence was momentous, especially in terms of putting an end to the civil war endured for three decades.

However, following the parties, celebrations and military parades, Africa's newest nation is slowly coming to terms with the grim reality of the responsibilities of nation-

building (Oxfam International 2011). The task at hand is tougher, more challenging and perhaps more gigantic than any recorded in history. As reported in a recent Joint Briefing Paper published by 38 aid agencies currently working in South Sudan, “amidst jubilant celebration, the new Republic of South Sudan entered the international stage in July 2011 albeit as one of the least developed countries in the world (further noting that), the challenges and opportunities are enormous, and donors, the government, implementing agencies and most importantly the people of South Sudan have a lot at stake ...” (Gluck 2011).

South Sudan not only needs to create a new government structure, establish the rule of law and become a member of the international community; it also has to create a nation from scratch. The social institutions that could hold people together were destroyed by three decades of warfare.

The society is bruised, has a butchered sense of nationality, and has battered self-esteem (Oxfam International 2011). The country has little infrastructure in the form of transportation, public utilities, and public buildings. As South Sudan tries to establish its new identity, it will also have to build; staff and run schools, hospitals, armies, law enforcement agencies and a public service from scratch.

South Sudan will have to create a nation from perhaps the lowest denominator of any country in the past. Middleton (2011) observes that, “few countries are born with the myriad of problems that face the world’s newest country, South Sudan (since) after the suffering of decades of civil war and centuries of marginalization, it might be hard to imagine that independence can be anything other than a hugely positive moment – but South Sudan’s challenges are daunting” (p. 26).

These challenges range from feeding the country’s children and taking them to school to staffing hospitals, schools and the public service. The country has to transform the mind-set of generations born into war, disarm them and teach them to embrace peace and nation-

building. While autonomy is welcome in South Sudan, it is one of the most underdeveloped and impoverished countries in the world. In summary, South Sudan is confronted by an array of political, social and economic hardships that may prove even harder to tackle than gaining independence from the North (Heleta, n.d.).

Middleton (2011) adds that South Sudan is one of the least developed countries in the world despite its enormous oil wealth. The years of marginalization also resulted in a total lack of infrastructural development in the region. For instance, while South Sudan is almost the size of Texas (USA), it only has 50 kilometers (30 miles) of paved road. Water and electricity are a problem in several parts of the country.

Ambler (2011) notes that most South Sudanese live on less than \$1 a day and that both health and educational facilities are significantly underdeveloped. With hundreds of thousands of people displaced during the long civil wars between the North and South, a serious humanitarian crisis is looming given the continued lack of capacity to satisfy their basic needs. As a result of poor health facilities, South Sudan has the highest infant mortality and maternal mortality rates in the world (Rose 2004, p. 338).

Furthermore, recent research indicates the rate of illiteracy in the country is as high as 85%. The new government is faced with the challenge of building schools across a country where more than 50% of the population are below the age of 18. The other significant challenges facing the young government include the task of reforming its disorganized and bloated army, diversification of the economy which is currently primarily based on oil revenues, delivering basic amenities such as health services, electricity and water, and finally, making difficult decisions regarding the equitable distribution of power among the military factions and the various ethnic groups within the region.

To make matters worse, the violence that reduced the once promising nation to a place of death and suffering may not be a thing of the past. More than seven different militia

groups are currently operating in South Sudan. There are fears of renewed conflict, this time leading to internal civil strife. According to a recent UN report, ethnic conflict and violence ranging from rebel battles with security forces to inter-group cattle raids claimed 2,400 lives in 2011, further hindering peaceful transition in South Sudan. Should such violence continue or, even worse, escalate, the country's nation-building efforts will stand little chance of success, given the enormous challenges already at hand (Oxfam International 2011). The consequences could possibly be worse than those suffered during the war against domination by the North.

Even more serious is the fact that the relationship between South Sudan and Sudan (previously Northern Sudan) remains precarious. Troops from the South Sudan and their northern counterparts are facing off in border conflicts, particularly in the contested regions of Abyei.

Fighting has also been reported in several parts of Kordofan state between the northerners and forces loyal to South Sudan, and in Jonglei state between the Lou-Nuer and the Murle ethnic groups. Another potential source of conflict is the oil wells that lie near the South-North border although the South Sudanese still depend on the northern refineries and pipelines.

A truly independent South Sudan is highly dependent on the resolution of such conflicts, as most of the current challenges facing South Sudan are related to the struggle for scarce economic resources such as the vast oil reserves and border disputes with Sudan.

The recent clashes between the Sudanese army and the SPLA demonstrate that the struggle over resources following South Sudan's independence could easily develop into large scale conflict, further undermining the state's peaceful transition. Both the new South Sudan government and the regime in the North view the border solely from the perspective of

economic gain, with little consideration for the communities living in the region (Heleta, n.d.).

According to the International Crisis Group (2011), there are increased fears of renewed conflict that could easily degenerate into genocide if this challenge is not effectively addressed.

As noted earlier, the border dispute is largely a result of the petroleum resources along the border of the two countries. This is complicated by the fact that nearly 85% of the oil fields are on the South Sudan side. While the South Sudanese government has displayed a high level of restraint in the face of extreme aggression on the part of the Khartoum government, including bombing the territories within the borders of South Sudan, many political analysts believe that it is only a matter of time before this conflict erupts into full scale violence. The major challenge is therefore to find a long lasting solution to prevent conflict between the two countries (International Crisis Group 2011).

Another challenge in this regard is that South Sudan has not diversified its economy and currently derives 98% of its revenue from the petroleum industry. If the border conflict continues to escalate, oil production in the region will be affected as foreign investors will be scared away by the violence (International Crisis Group 2011).

Reduced oil production will inevitably affect the economy of the young nation and undermine the peace and development process in South Sudan. Potential solutions to the oil and border related challenges include encouraging and supporting the government of South Sudan to build its own oil facilities, refineries and pipelines.

With regard to the border disputes there is general consensus among stakeholders in the Sudanese peace process that a clear border should be amicably demarcated between the two countries and that the areas around the borders should be demilitarized.



It has also been suggested that South Sudan diversify its economy to other areas such as agriculture and livestock production, as the country is over-reliant on oil (Schomerus et al. 2011). As noted earlier, almost 50% of South Sudan's population lives below the poverty line, with only 15% able to read and write.

In the absence of a viable economic base and new investment, the country faces a number of economic challenges, including an uncertain national income and the effects of fluctuations in global oil prices (Schomerus et al. 2011, p. 156). These challenges make the management of macroeconomics in the young nation more difficult.

The South Sudan government's key priorities include both short-term and long-term strategies. In the short-term, the new government intends to maximize revenue from the oil industry and other existing industries, while in the long term, it will consider partnering with international investors to effectively develop its oil facilities and reduce its dependence on Sudan's infrastructure.

The South Sudanese government also intends to work closely with donors and the World Bank to curb fluctuations in government income. Other significant challenges confronting the young government include reforming its army, diversifying the economy, delivering basic amenities such as health services, electricity and water and finally, making tough decisions on the equitable distribution of power among the military factions and the various ethnic groups within the region (Heleta, n.d.). Finally there is an urgent need for the government as well as the international community to provide effective security for all installations and oil workers in the region to ensure continuous oil production.

The discussion of the South Sudan oil struggle contextualizes the research study, aside from former assumptions on ethnic marginalization as the root cause of South Sudanese conflict. It also explains the economic and social difficulties emanating from this struggle.

In conclusion, the problem identified by the present study, and the motivation for this research, is the fact that the Republic of South Sudan faces numerous nation-building challenges. There is an urgent need to document these challenges. While many of the challenges confronting South Sudan have been discussed in the literature, there have been no scholarly attempts to identify and explain the specific challenges facing nation-building efforts in the new country. While the literature identifies the problems of underdevelopment, poverty, armed militias and illiteracy in South Sudan, as far as the researcher is aware, there has been no empirical study that has related these problems to the nation-building task of the new republic. The present study recognizes that when the people of South Sudan celebrated their independence in July 2011, after half a century of war, struggle, suffering and oppression, they also started a new chapter in building their nation.

This means that although the country is independent, it confronts specific problems in relation to nation-building. As stated above, after the jubilant parties, celebrations and military parades, Africa's newest nation is slowly coming to terms with the grim reality of the new responsibilities of nation-building (Oxfam International 2011). As such, the problem that the present study identified as deserving of further research is:

- The identification and discussion of nation-building challenges (the specific problems that have significant impact on nation-building processes rather than the general problems facing the Republic of South Sudan), generated by an empirical multi-perspective enquiry that helps contextualize these challenges both in the unique setting of South Sudan as a new republic, and in the general nation-building theory.

## **1.2. Background of the Study**

### **1.2.1 The History of Sudan**

Historians have traced the history of Sudan to as early as 8 BC (Johnson 2003). It is held that during the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC, there were numerous migrations from the drying-up Sahara to areas with better climatic conditions (Metz 1991, p. 61). Among these migrants were a Neolithic people who settled along the Nile Valley, which favored their interest in agriculture. By the 8<sup>th</sup> millennium, this group of people had settled along the Nile and adopted a sedentary lifestyle (Metz 1991, p. 58).

They built villages with fortified mud-bricks in what is known today as Sudan. The settlers supplemented fishing with hunting, grain gathering and cattle herding as their main economic activities. According to Johnson, the initial populations in Sudan were hunters, fishermen and gatherers, before the limitations of the land forced them into semi-arable farming practices (Johnson 2003).

Within a few centuries, the region was populated by a mixture of people with different genetic and cultural ancestry, creating what would gradually develop into the social hierarchy of the Kingdom of Kush (Wassara 2009, pp. 1-3). Archaeological and anthropological evidence shows that in 1700 BC (what is known as pre-dynastic period) the Sudanese Nubian community and the Nagadan people of Upper Egypt were culturally and ethnically identical (Metz 1991, p. 61).

However, by 3300 BC, the two peoples had mutated and evolved to numerous distinct Pharaonic kingships and kingdoms (Metz 1991, p. 62; O'Brien 2005, p. 22). The nation of Sudan thus emerged, although subsequent political events would transform the country even further (Holt 1961).

With Juba as its capital, South Sudan is bordered by Sudan to the north, Central African Republic to the west, Ethiopia to the east, Uganda to the south and Kenya to the

southeast (US Department of State, Bureau of African Affairs 2011). Covering an area of 644,329 square kilometers, South Sudan is covered mostly by grasslands with numerous wetlands, wooded savannahs and floodplains (Tigani 1995).

There are also several high-altitude plateaus in the largely flat terrain (Tigani 1995). South Sudan's climate is mostly the hot and humid climate typical of tropical regions, with annually shifting seasonal rainfall that is determined by the convergence of the inter-tropical zone (US Department of State, Bureau of African Affairs 2011).

Today, the Republic of South Sudan is a landlocked nation in the Sahel region of Africa, although there are contradicting definitions of this region in the literature. In some accounts, the Sahel region only extends through five African nations (called the Sahel countries) including Mauritania, Niger, Mali, Chad and Burkina Faso (O'Brien 2005, p. 22). According to this account, South Sudan cannot be classified as belonging to the Sahel region.

However, some geographers and historians argue that the Sahel region covers parts of the territory beginning in Senegal in the extreme west, through southern Mauritania, Mali, southern Algeria, Niger, Chad, up to South Sudan and Eritrea to the extreme east (Magin 2001). South Sudan has different climatic conditions from Sudan in the north, since South Sudan receives higher and more frequent rainfall, with the rainfall intensity diminishing gradually as one moves northwards (Burgess et al. 2004, p. 49-71).

For the present study, South Sudan was classified as being in the Sahel region of Africa because it lies in the biogeographic and eco-climatic zone where the Sahara Desert borders the savannah region (the Sudanian savannah) (Magin 2001, p. 56). The Sahel region is the transition climate lying between the arid Sahara desert to the north and the less-arid Savannahs to the south (Dai et al., n.d.). As such, this study assumes that the Sahel regions stretches from west to east starting in Senegal, through the southern part of Mauritania, Niger, Mali, Algeria, Chad and into the southern regions of former Sudan (now South Sudan)

and ultimately Eritrea (O'Brien 2005, p. 22). This classification of South Sudan as within the Sahel region was of significance to the study as will be seen later.

The propensity for civil violence and discord that Sudan is known for has been traced by some scholars to the country's history (Billig 1995, pp. 46-73). Johnson observes that, "Sudan's post-independence history has been dominated by long, recurring, and bloody civil wars" (Johnson 2003, p. 9).

The scholar adds that political and civil strife in Sudan were due "either to an age-old racial and ethnic divide between Arabs and Africans or to colonially constructed inequalities" (Johnson 2003, p. 12). It has been argued that Sudan has always been a collection of a fragmented people (Billig 1995).

This argument is based on the fact that the former larger Sudan (prior to the separation of the north and the south), was originally a set of small but independent kingdoms in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century during the Christian era (1820 – 1821). According to Wassara (2009), "the history of Sudanese conflict has been shaped by the country's geographical setting, social diversity and poor governance (and) public policies in the Sudan are as varied as the political structures, constitutions and institutions of governance that have risen and fallen, (such that) history reveals that the socio-political structure is dominated by the struggle for power and rights between the centre and periphery" (p. 1).

The scholar adds that, "political disharmony, ethnic distrust, and economic and educational disparity have been the norm in Sudanese society ... factors that have contributed to weak political institutions, which could not withstand the challenges of national cohesion and democracy". Collins (2008) puts forward a similar argument.

These kingdoms had different cultures, languages and governance structures (Fadlalla 2004, p. 11). Egypt was the first colonizer of the region, conquering the northern regions of Sudan and consolidating the different kingdoms into a single territory (Holt 1961). According

to Holt, the history of Sudan is wrought with subsequent empires that started with Egypt (Holt 1961). The entire region of Sudan became unified under Egypt's rule.

However, the Egyptians limited their rule and reach to the northern region and left the southern region uncolonized (O'Brien 2005). This enabled the continued existence of numerous, fragmented tribes in Southern Sudan with no central bond (Billig 1995). It marked the beginning of a North-South rift as the two regions traversed different historic paths (Billig 1995). During this era, there was also a brief moment when the Ottoman Empire invaded Sudan and the regions ruled by Egypt. From 1820 to 1821, the Ottoman Empire conquered and subsequently unified most of the northern Sudanese territory (Metz 1991).

The new Turkiyah government, referred to in the literature as the Turkish regime, was simply interested in new markets and natural resources for their merchants and was not particularly concerned with political rule (Metz 1991). According to Dr. Fadlalla Mohamed (2004), the region of Sudd, which separates north Sudan from south Sudan, was an extensive range of pestilential swamps.

This prevented the Ottoman Empire from expanding deeper into South Sudan, once again leaving the southerners autonomous, while the north was colonized. This further consolidated the divide between the south and the north, not only due to political circumstances but because as the north was increasingly Islamized, the south was being increasingly Christianized by missionaries from Kenya (Metz 2007). According to Holt and Daly, this period added a significant religious influence on the history of Sudan, as Islam and Christianity were established as the dominant and competing religions in the North and South, respectively (Holt and Daly 2000).

Scholars who maintain that South Sudan is located in the Sahel region sometimes employ this classification to support the argument that Sudan's propensity to violence is not only due to ethnic diversity and religious polarity, but to its geography. According to Magin

(2001), the former Sudan was bordered by the Sahara Dessert to the north and by a less arid savannah to the east.

According to some historians, the eastern Sahel which now constitutes a large part of the Republic of Sudan, escaped European conquest at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century (Magin 2001). This region was to the north of the former Sudan. This meant that Christianity did not spread to the northern regions of the then Sudan. Rather, the Egyptian pharaoh, Muhammad Ali, annexed this region around 1820 (Burgess et al. 2004).

Even when the British expressed interest in the region, they took an indirect approach. The British controlled much of the now Republic of Sudan through the Sultanate of Egypt from 1914 (Burgess et al. 2004). This meant that the region adapted Islam as the most dominant religion, while the southern regions adopted Christianity.

The north and the south had little contact and peace would have prevailed were it not for a grave error committed in 1956 (Collins 2008). When the former Sudan gained independence in 1956, its rulers decided to incorporate the northern and southern regions to form what was until recently, the largest African state (Burgess et al. 2004). The Sudanese Sahel region was joined with the north to form the independent Sudan. Historians believe that this was the onset of “a lasting period of political instability and warfare” which culminated in the Darfur War (Burgess et al. 2004). This historical account is one among many that traces the Sudanese conflict to historical events and processes. However, before considering this argument further, it is important to highlight the political history of the two regions that underscores this conflict.

At the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (around 1881), a Muslim revolutionary, Muhammad bin Abdalla inspired an Islamic religious crusade to pacify, consolidate and unify all the tribes and kingdoms in central and western Sudan (Collins 2008). Abdalla or ‘Mahdi’, the

term used to describe him as a messiah, inspired legions of followers in these regions who were referred to as the ‘Ansars’ or followers.

The movement would subsequently become the largest political movement of the Sudanese people known as the Umma Party, under the leadership of a Mahdi descendant, Sadiq al Mahdi (Jok 2007). The Umma Party and its revolutionary movement sought to liberate the Sudanese people from the dictatorial Ottoman-Egyptian administration. Four years after its creation, the Mahdi movement organized a nationalist revolt that successfully overthrew the Ottoman-Egyptian administration in Khartoum. While Mahdi died a year later, the movement remained strong for more than a decade (US Department of State 2011).

However, the winds of change were blowing as Britain expressed increased interest in African colonies (Gray 1961, p. 103). In 1898, an Anglo-Egyptian invasion commanded by Lord Kitchener overran Khartoum and overwhelmed the Mahdi regime (Gray 1961, p. 103). Thereafter, most of Sudan was administered by a joint British-Egyptian government. Britain exercised overall control, delegated governance policies and installed its military commanders in all top administrative posts (Gray 1961, p. 103). After half a century of joint colonial government, Sudan finally achieved independence in 1954 (Fadlalla 2004). The UK government and Egypt agreed to self-determination and the self-government of the Sudanese people in February 1953, followed by a transitional period towards national independence (Collins 2008).

The pioneer parliament of Sudan was inaugurated in 1954. The Egyptian and British governments conceded to Sudan’s total independence on 1 January 1956, when the first provisional constitution for an independent Sudan took effect (US Department of State 2011, p.1). With independence, a new nation would emerge from a diverse people with a diverse history (Holt and Daly 2000, p. 74). This diversity persists to the present day.



### **1.2.2 The Conflict, Civil War and the Emergence of Factions**

A review of Sudan's history is a narrative of conflict, strife and divisions. According to Collins "Sudan's modern history has been consumed by revolution and civil war" (Collins 2008, p. 12). The country's pre-independence history would create numerous problems.

As noted by President Kagame, "for over sixty years of post-colonial rule, nation-building in most African countries has been an up-hill task as a result of the disruption and fragmentation of our societies caused by our former colonialists" (Kagame 2010, p. 12). The president added that "there is no doubt that colonialism created some conditions that made it difficult for newly independent African countries to function as proper nation states and the ramifications are still felt today" (Kagame 2010, p. 12).

Collins' highly acclaimed book provides a historical account of Sudan that spans two centuries and demonstrates that many of the current tragedies in the country originate in its past (Collins 2008, p. 75). According to Collins, Sudan's contemporary record of war and civil strife originated in 1981 with the "conquest of Muhammad Ali and would subsequently be reinforced as the country moves through the Anglo-Egyptian condominium to independence in 1956" (Collins 2008, p. 36).

Like many other scholars, Collins is convinced that Sudan's war-related problems have historical origins. The same argument holds for post-independence Sudan as what he terms "fragile British-installed democracy" collapsed as a result of sectarian strife (Collins 2008, p. 36-46). The scholar concludes that, "religious and ethnic divides, in conjunction with failed leadership, have prolonged and sustained the conflict in Sudan" (Collins 2008, p. 46). A closer look at how the conflict in Sudan began tends to justify this conclusion.

Sudan confronted numerous governance problems on gaining independence in 1956 (Gray 1961). For example, the provisional constitution which took effect on 1 January 1956

was silent on some critical national issues. It ignored the fact that there were huge, irreconcilable differences between the North and the South (US Department of State 2011).

While the North was largely Muslim, the South was largely Christian. Secondly, the constitution was burdened by the agreement that independent Sudan would be a federal system providing for the autonomy of the North and the South. Thirdly, the new government excluded southern leaders (who were considered secular) and created a state with an Islamic character as the foundation of the federal/unitary governance structure (US Department of State 2011). This omission and/or ignorance would form the genesis of decades of civil strife, beginning only days after the country's independence.

Johnson traces the roots of the conflict in Sudan by examining the historical, social, economic and political factors that have influenced the trajectory of civil wars in the country since its independence and argues that most of these wars were ethnically and/or religiously inspired (Johnson 2003, p. 33).

He examines Sudan's first civil war during the 1960s, the most recent war of independence, and the many minor conflicts in between the larger wars (Johnson 2003). He concludes that there were many "regional and international factors, such as humanitarian aid, oil revenue, and terrorist organizations, that can be cited as underlying issues that have exacerbated the violence", all of which have been sectarian (Johnson 2003, pp. 40-53).

Collins concurs with this assessment, adding that, "the country attracted international attention in the 1990s as a breeding ground of Islamist terrorism and recently tensions between the prosperous centre and the periphery, between north and south, have exploded in Darfur" (Collins 2008, p. 27). The new government was Islamized and based on the Arab culture, since most of the officials were northerners.

It was thus easy for the Arab-led government in Khartoum to renege on promises to the southerners. Khartoum refused to create a federal system of government and instead

exercised authority over all of Sudan (US Department of State 2011, p. 7). The result was an army mutiny led by the southerners as they sought to secure a federal system. Khartoum responded with force. The result was a 17-year civil war starting during the very year of independence and continuing until late 1972 (US Department of State 2011, p. 8).

What started as a minor revolt transformed into a war, and Sudan “was at war with itself for more than three-quarters of the period from 1956 to 2011” (US Department of State 2011, p. 8). Jok described the former Sudan before the recent cessation of the South as “a country in turmoil, ravaged by civil war, plagued by roaming gangs of rebel and government militia, and is rarely out of the news (and in which) despite government propaganda, tales of state-sponsored murder, genocide and humanitarian crises are rife” (Jok 2007, p. 48). It has been argued that Sudan's independence was based on a people that were not united and who did not share any nationalistic spirit.

This might explain why even at the dawn of independence, the first constitution was based on an agreement to separate the North and the South in a federalist system, rather than keeping the nation together under self-rule. When such separation was not honoured, a protracted conflict erupted that was deeply rooted in cultural and religious differences amongst the Sudanese people (US Department of State 2001, p. 9).

The war hurt both sides as political and economic development was shelved and all efforts were directed to winning the war. The war was caused by the simple fact that the North was seeking to retain the South under its rule, and the South was seeking to free itself from northern domination. The conflict led to massive internal displacement and many deaths (Wassara 2009).

A few years after the start of the conflict, in 1958, the then most powerful army officer, General Ibrahim Abboud was able to seize power from the Khartoum administration. Abboud primarily sought to ‘Arabize’ and ‘Islamize’ the entire Sudan. Jok provides a

detailed examination of Sudan's past, its culture and its predisposition to violence, arguing that the cause of its fractured national identity begun with “the Arabization of the central government in the north and the imposition of this cultural identity upon Darfur and the Christian South, resulting to a vicious cycle of violence” (Jok 2007, p. 69).

Abboud's efforts strengthened the southern opposition who were determined to protect their religion and culture. This led to Abboud being deposed six years into his rule (by 1964). A civilian government took control of the national government in a caretaker role. Had the southern leaders maintained unity, their cause would probably have been achieved during this period. However, as is common in many internal conflicts, the southern leaders started fighting amongst themselves over how to share the spoils of a war they had not yet won. The South was ultimately divided into two major factions, with one group advocating for federal government in the autonomous South, and the other advocating for secession (otherwise termed self-determination).

An important factor at this point of the conflict was that it was widely assumed by all factions in the South and the North, “that the south would vote for independence if given the choice” (US Department of State 2011, p. 10). No resolution was achieved for the next five years as the North took advantage of the divided South and exploited their disagreements. By 1969, several successive governments had failed to secure agreement on a permanent constitution (to replace the failed provisional one) for the entire Sudan, or to solve the problems of ethnic dissidence, factionalism and economic stagnation that were threatening to tear the young country apart (Wassara 2009).

The common denominator among the members of all the governments that took power in Khartoum from independence until the 1980s was that they were dominantly from the North, meaning that they were mainly Arab Muslims. They thus imposed an Arab-Islamic agenda on the Christian South, adamantly refusing to consider self-determination or

federalism for the southern Sudan people (US Department of State 2011). With the North dominating the national government and its agenda, there was little hope that the South would desist from war.

However, the blame for the failure to cultivate peace and abandon divisive political and cultural stances cannot be laid solely at the door of the Arab-Islamic regimes. For example, in mid-1969, a new regime seized power in Khartoum. This regime was not pro-Islam but a mixture of socialist and communist military officers under the command of Col. Gaafar Muhammad Nimeiri. In June 1969, just a month after seizing power, Col. Nimeiri proclaimed that socialism would replace Islamism as the political philosophy of Sudan's government (Holt and Daly 2000). The new administration outlined policy changes that included granting the South autonomy. However, after delaying the liberation of the South for decades, and after decades of civil conflict, another faction would emerge from within the new regime to stall peaceful negotiations.

As noted, the new government was formed by communist and socialist soldiers. When Nimeiri, a socialism sympathizer, declared that socialism would be Sudan's political philosophy, his communist peers rose up in revolt. They attempted a coup with support from the Soviet Union. When the coup failed, Nimeiri initiated a massive purge of the communists, with numerous massacres. The Soviet Union soon withdrew its support from the region (Holt and Daly 2000).

Nonetheless, Nimeiri's reign was shaken to its very core. He had chased most Muslim parties from power when purging Sudan of the Arab-Muslim regime and had now eliminated the communist faction whose support had been pivotal. The regime was thus alienated both from the left and from the right and the only possible alternative was soliciting comradeship of the south. Nimeiri thus pursued several peace initiatives with Sudan's more hostile neighbors, including Uganda and Ethiopia (Holt and Daly 2000).

These initiatives resulted in signed agreements that committed the neighboring nations to withdraw their support for the rebel movements in Sudan. Nimeiri is highly regarded for terminating international meddling in the Sudan conflict as a starting point for the healing process.

The second step was to initiate negotiations between the national government and the southern rebels. By 1972, Nimeiri had signed an agreement with the rebels in Addis Ababa, officially granted significant autonomy to the South in exchange for a ceasefire (US Department of State 2011, p. 11).

As anticipated, the goodwill accorded the South was instrumental in securing support for his weakened regime. Indeed, Southern support was instrumental in helping Nimeiri to overcome two successive coup attempts. While this arrangement could have been expected to bring peace to the South, all it did was create more enemies for this region. For example, one of the coup attempts was initiated by a group of army officers hailing from the western Sudan regions of Kordofan and Darfur. The West was now claiming similar autonomy as that granted to the South by the Nimeiri regime (US Department of State 2011, p. 11).

Aggressive anti-South hostility undermined the Addis Ababa Agreement. The agreement was not supported by either the Islamic North or the secularist West. Nimeiri's government was bound to fail even with southern support. Nimeiri sought to mitigate the threat to his regime by announcing a novel policy aimed at initiating national reconciliation in Sudan.

The policy brought together all religious opposition groups and dissident political caucuses. However, almost all factions were against the Addis Ababa Agreement since, as noted by the US Department of State, "these parties did not feel bound to observe an agreement they perceived as an obstacle to furthering an Islamist state" (US Department of State 2011). However, there was still a chance that the state would ultimately reach a

mutually acceptable agreement as long as dialogue was maintained and foreign interests (most notably the USA, Soviet Union, the UK, Uganda, Egypt and Ethiopia) were kept out.

Unfortunately, that hope would not be realized. As noted by the US Department of State, “the scales against the peace agreement were tipped in 1979 when Chevron discovered oil in the south” (US Department of State 2011). The relationships shifted from hate and loathing, to jealousy. The northern and western regions now had even more reason to seek the domination of the South, and to completely suppress any notion of autonomy.

According to the US Department of State, “Northern pressure built to abrogate those provisions of the peace treaty granting financial autonomy to the south” (US Department of State 2011, p. 15). Pushed to the wall, Nimeiri transferred military control of the southern forces to the Sudanese central government in 1983 and changed the national language from English to Arabic. This decision was a breach and unilateral abrogation of the peace treaty established in 1972.

It was easy to predict the results of this decision, with the South feeling threatened and mistreated on the heels of the discovery of oil in its territory and the North and the West determined to make a claim on the South’s endowment. The second and perhaps fiercest civil war in Sudan started in January 1983.

To begin with, southern soldiers mutinied and defied orders to transfer their command to the North. Despite realizing his mistake, President Nimeiri could not go back on his decision which had earned him the comradeship of the North. Taking a 180° turn on the philosophy he had adopted on assuming power, the president embraced the discriminatory policies of the North, became a pro-Muslim advocate and directed the state machinery to suppress the South.

Towards the end of September 1983, the president set in motion an Islamization campaign which among other things, declared that Sudan’s penal code would be drawn from

Islamic Sharia law, and that traditional Islamic punishments would be used by Sudan's law enforcement agencies. Within a year of the passage of the new laws, even the Muslim groups in the North had started complaining, as public lashings for those found in possession of alcohol and amputations for those accused of theft became a daily occurrence.

An uprising started gaining root in Khartoum in response to the collapsing national economy and the ever-worsening political oppression and repression. Nimeiri's reign was now very close to its end. In mid-April 1985, the government was overthrown during his absence. A transitional government headed by Gen. Suwar al-Dahab took power, immediately suspended Sudan's 1983 constitution and disbanded the Sudan Socialist Union headed by Nimeiri.

A civilian government was elected in April 1986, offering mild hope for peaceful negotiations with the troubled South (Metz 1991). However, the Arabic domination in the new government ensured that the negotiations never considered exempting the South from the Islamic law. The failure of the civilian government to instil peace would eventually lead to another military coup in 1989, when an Islamic faction of the Sudanese army under General Al-Bashir installed the National Islamic Front party in power.

This government also pursued an Islamic cause against the South, further intensifying the conflict between the North and the South. Furthermore, Al-Bashir's administration supported international Islamist activism and imposed unprecedented internal political oppression. The administration supported several radical Islamist groups across the globe, most notably in Algeria as well as supporting Iraq's invasion of Kuwait's. Due to the country's financial dependence on international Islamic agencies, Khartoum slowly became a safe refuge for radical and militant Islamist movements including Al-Qaida under Osama Bin Laden. The UN Security Council eventually imposed heavy sanctions on Sudan in 1996, for engineering an attempted assassination of Egypt's president.



The 1990s led Sudan to its darkest hour (Wassara 2009). Khartoum's preoccupation with a radical Islamist cause resulted in growing discontent across Sudan as the West and North joined the South in agitating for more fair governance. Both non-Muslims and Muslims across Sudan would come to sympathize with the southern rebels who eventually formed the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

The tragic contribution of Al-Bashir's administration was its repression of the southern rebels using propaganda as one of its weapons. Khartoum manipulated and highlighted tribal divisions among the Sudanese in order to regain supremacy (Wassara 2009). This ignited civil strife in Sudan. Luckily for the southern people, this repression pushed them to unite against Khartoum. The rebels came together under Colonel John Garang in the SPLA and also benefited from support from Uganda, Eritrea and Ethiopia. These countries sought to repay the Bashir government for supporting radical Islamist groups across Africa.

### **1.2.3 Birth of South Sudan: From DOP through CAP to the Referendum**

As noted in the previous section, the worsening political situation in Sudan as the 1990s drew to a close motivated several countries to become involved in the Sudanese civil conflict in order to broker peace. By 1993, Kenya, Eritrea, Uganda and Ethiopia had joined a peace initiative under the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD).

While this produced mixed results, (US Department of State 2011), the IGAD initiative culminated in the 1994 Declaration of Principles (DOP) which among other things, sought to identify the essential elements of the conflict and by so doing formulate a comprehensive and just peace settlement. Important for the present study (as will be explored further in later sections of this thesis) is that the DOP identified the following factors as central to Sudanese peace:

- a) Relationship between the state and religion (Islam or Christianity)

- b) Power sharing between different factions
- c) Wealth sharing between different regions (with specific emphasis on oil resources)
- d) Right to self-determination for the South

This agreement was instrumental in formulating a template for subsequent peace initiatives. Regrettably, the Sudanese Government refused to sign the DOP in 1994 and only did so towards the end of 1997, after intense international pressure and major losses in its battle with the SPLA. It is noteworthy that the Khartoum government agreed to sign several other agreements with various rebel factions during the same year, as part of a new policy dubbed 'Peace from Within' (US Department of State 2011).

Notable agreements signed during this window of opportunity were the Khartoum Agreement, the Nuba Mountains Agreement, and the Fashoda Agreement, which helped end the persistent military conflicts between rebel factions and the central government. Some leaders of the factions were offered marginal roles in Khartoum's central government while others entered into military collaboration with the central government against the SPLA.

According to the US Department of State, despite the weaknesses of these three agreements, their conditions and terms were parallel to those of the IGAD agreement, most notably in their call for the South's autonomy and the right to self-determination (US Department of State 2011).

The close of the 1990s saw the beginning of South Sudan's road to peace, after decades of hopeless struggle. By July 2002, the SPLA and Government of Sudan had arrived at what has been referred to as a historic agreement, defining anew the role of religion and the state, as well as the right to self-determination for Southern Sudan, and achieving the visionary mandate of the failed DOP.

This agreement was named the Machakos Protocol, after the Kenyan town that hosted most of the IGAD-sponsored peace talks. Lazaro Sumbeiywo, a retired Kenyan General chaired the peace talks. Once the religion/state relationship was defined and South's self-determination was agreed upon, the final DOP objective was to discuss wealth sharing protocols in the contested regions. These discussions were initiated at the beginning of 2003.

On 19 November 2004, the SPLA and the Government of Sudan signed a final declaration, with each party committing to participate in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) set for conclusion by 31 December 2004 (Wassara 2009, pp. 9-14). The agreement was signed during a United Nations Security Council's extraordinary session, held in Nairobi, Kenya. This was only the fifth time that the UNSC had ever met outside New York (Thomas 2009, pp. 4-23).

The session concluded with the UNSC adopted a unanimous Resolution No. 1574, affirming the SPLA and the Sudan government's commitment to achieve a peace agreement by the close of 2004. Perhaps for the first significant time, the extra-ordinary UNSC session underscored the international community's intention to assist, support and oversee a peaceful transition in Sudan after decades of suffering (Wassar 2009, pp. 9-14). This strong affirmation by the international community consolidated both the SPLA and the Government of Sudan's commitment to initiate and conclude the CPA within the agreed time period. The previously warring parties formally signed the CPA on 9 January 2005, marking the first day of a peaceful Sudan in decades (US Department of State 2011).

It is important to highlight the salient features of the CPA prior to exploring them in more depth. The 2005 CPA firmly established a Government of National Unity in Sudan alongside an interim Government of Southern Sudan (Temin and Murphy 2011). It also provided for power and wealth sharing between Khartoum and South Sudan and security arrangements between the SPLA and Khartoum.

The CAP demanded an immediate ceasefire in the entire Sudan, required Khartoum to withdraw all its troops from South Sudan, and further directed that all internal and external Sudanese refugees be repatriated and resettled (Thomas 2009). The agreement also stipulated that free and fair elections should be held at all levels of government within the fourth years that the interim government was in power (Wassara 2009). This mandated the interim government to facilitate the peaceful and democratic election of:

- Sudan's national president
- South Sudan's president
- Nationwide state governors
- Sudan's national state legislatures
- Southern Sudan's national state legislatures

True to the requirements of the CAP, Sudan's democratic president, Omar Al-Bashir was sworn in on 9 July 2005. John Garang, the then SPLA leader was installed as Sudan's First Vice President. This was followed by the ratification of an interim national constitution which declared that Sudan would hence be a multi-cultural, multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, decentralized and democratic state (US Department of State 2011, p. 26).

Unfortunately, on 30 July 2005, John Garang died in a helicopter crash and the SPLA named Salva Kiir (previously Garang's deputy), as South Sudan's President and Sudan's First Vice President. Other CPA provisions that were implemented between 2005 and 2010 included:

- a) Formation of a national legislature
- b) Appointment of cabinet members
- c) Signing of the interim Southern Sudan constitution
- d) Establishment of the Government of Southern Sudan
- e) Appointment of state governors

- f) Adoption of state constitutions
- g) Passing of electoral law providing for free and fair national elections (passed in July 2008)
- h) Laws governing the Southern Sudan and Abyei referenda and the popular consultations in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile (passed in December 2009)
- i) Both parties agreed to initiate demarcation of the North- South border by February 2010

Once the National Population Census Council had been established, Sudan conducted a national population census in the months of April and May 2008 in preparation for national elections (Thomas 2009). With the release of the census results in 2009, Sudan was free to hold peaceful elections which were eventually held from 11 to 15 April 2010. There were numerous irregularities during the polling and the counting of votes. Furthermore, unusual restrictions were imposed on political processes in both South and North Sudan prior to, during and after the elections.

The National Congress Party (dominated by northerners) and the SPLA (dominated by southerners) secured the overwhelming majority of votes. The incumbent presidents (Bashir and Kiir) were re-elected to the Government of Sudan and the semi-autonomous Government of Southern Sudan, respectively.

Sudan's success in implementing the CPA up to 2010 was lauded by the international community, despite a few setbacks (Oxfam International 2011). However, the ultimate step towards a peaceful Sudan was the CPA's requirement that a national referendum be held before January 2011. This aimed to allow southerners to decide whether or not they wanted unity with the larger Sudan or separation in an autonomous nation.

A parallel referendum was to be held amongst the people of Abyei in order to establish whether or not they wanted to join the South should it be granted full autonomy, or remain with the North (Sansculotte-Greenidge 2011). A week-long referendum was concluded on 15 January 2011 and the official results were announced on 7 February 2011. More than 97.58% of registered Sudanese voters (more than 3.85 million citizens) participated in the referendum. In total, 98.83% voted for the South's secession. That day marked the birth of the world's youngest sovereign republic, the Republic of South Sudan.

Figure 1: A Map of South Sudan Showing the New Inter-State Borders



Source: Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation (2010, p. 1)

### 1.2.4 Republic of South Sudan

Having gained independence from the North on 9 July 2011, the Republic of South Sudan is under a transitional constitution. The people of South Sudan embraced their sovereignty with unprecedented joy. Gluck (2011) notes that, “millions of South Sudanese

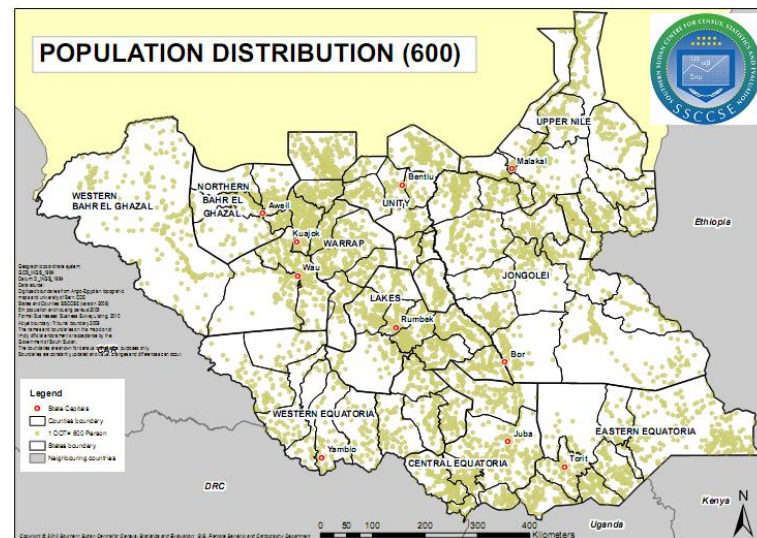
danced and sang in the streets as they celebrated their independence ... the sense of excitement and promise was, and still is, palpable” (p. 6).

Quoting a staff member in a national non-governmental organization, Gluck posted that “independence means that my children ... can be whatever they want. ... Before there was nothing, now we have a future” (Gluck 2011, p. 6). Indeed, the creation of the nation has allowed a troubled people to be optimistic about a future that never seemed possible during the decades of war. Given South Sudan’s vast agricultural potential and the expansive mineral and oil reserves within its borders, the millions of highly educated refugees returning home and the national thirst for peace, “South Sudanese feel for the first time that the future is in their hands and are eager to play a part in building the nation” (Gluck 2011, p. 7).

The South Sudanese currently number 8,260,490 people (4.29 million men and 3.97 million women) as per the 2008 population census. More than 51% of the population is below the age of 18, and 72% is below the age of 30 (Central Intelligence Agency 2012). The country has a population density of 13 people per square kilometer.

The major ethnic groups in South Sudan include the Acholi, Anuak, Azande, Bari, Bongo, Bviri, Didinga, Dinka, Dungotona, Kakwa, Kuku, Landi, Lango, Mandari, Murle, Ndogo and Shilluk, in alphabetical order. There are three major religions in South Sudan, namely, Christianity, Muslim and animism (Central Intelligence Agency 2012). The following figures illustrate the demographics of the South Sudan population based on the 2008 national population census.

Figure 2: A Map of South Sudan Showing the Distribution of the National Population



Source: Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation (2010, p. 2)

According to the World Bank Key Indicators for Southern Sudan, the country's main economic activities are animal husbandry and subsistence agriculture (78% of the workforce) (World Bank 2011). In 2011, the central government's budget was US\$ 2.097 billion with a security of US \$591.7 million (World Bank 2011). The Government of South Sudan projected a national economic growth rate of 7.2% in 2012 (World Bank 2011).

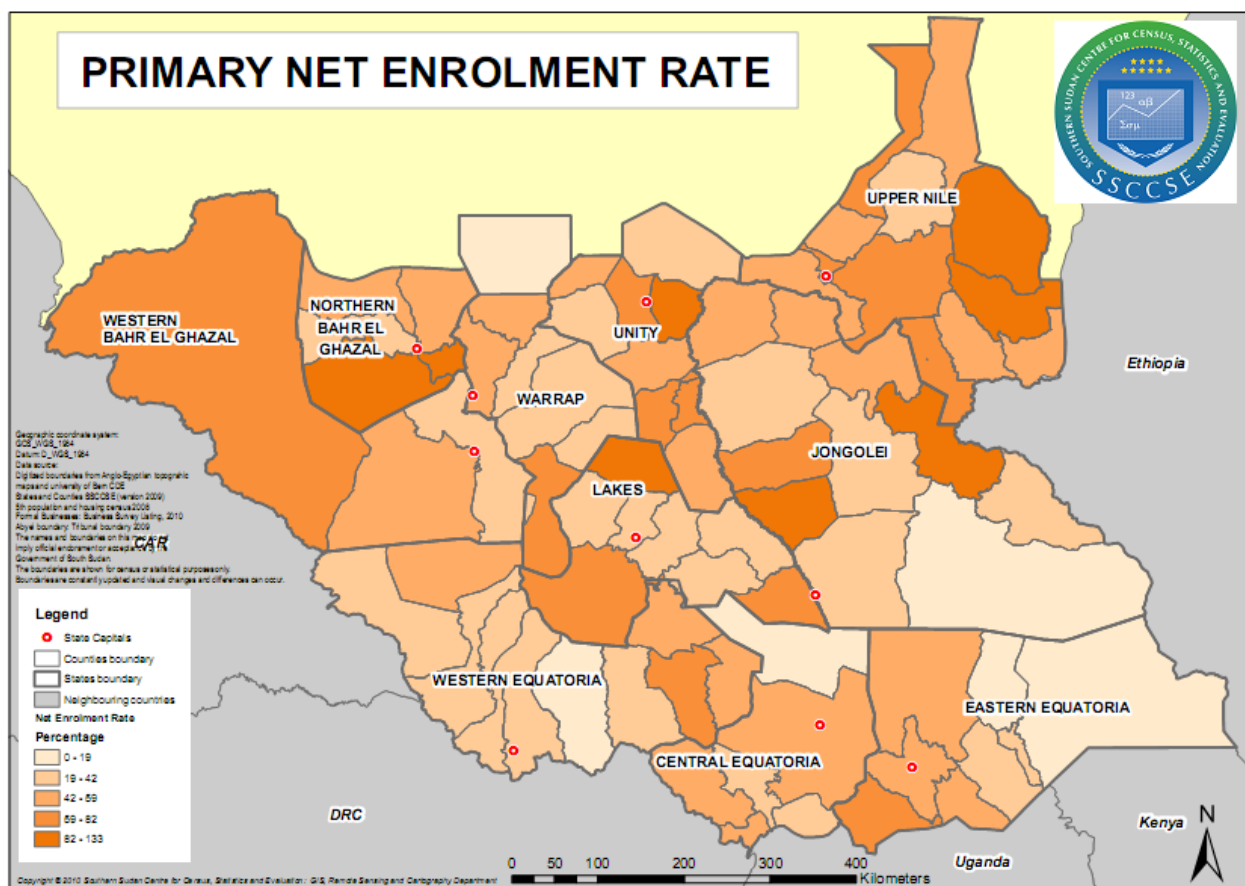
Sudan remains South Sudan's main trading partner. The country's natural resources include oil reserves which are currently the single most lucrative national resource, gold reserves, hydropower generation potential, fertile agricultural land, and other mineral reserves including silver, zinc, diamonds, limestone, copper, hardwoods, iron ore, chromium ore, tungsten and mica (World Bank 2011). The major agricultural produce of South Sudan include sunflowers, sheep, cattle, peanuts, bananas, cotton, maize, mangoes, sorghum, sweet potatoes, wheat, sesame, rice, millet, beans, papayas, gum Arabic, cassava and sugarcane (Government of the Republic of South Sudan 2012).

The White Nile River divides the country into two as it flows northwards from central Africa. The annual flooding of the Nile in the Sudd area forms an expansive swampy region spanning more than 100,000 square kilometres, which supports the bulk of South Sudan's



agriculture and wildlife populations (Government of the Republic of South Sudan 2012). English is South Sudan's official language, with many other languages spoken by various sub-populations including standard Arabic, Juba variants of Arabic, and the Sudanese variants of Arabic, Dinka, Zande, Nuer, Shilluk and Bari. As of 2009, the net enrolment rate at primary schools was 48%. More than 63% of South Sudanese population over the age of 6 has never been enrolled at school with the exception of refugees outside the country (Government of Southern Sudan 2010). The literacy rate for those aged between 15 and 24 years is 40%, while that of the adult population is 27% (40% for men and 16% for women). The following figure illustrates the dismal school enrolment rates in the country.

**Figure 3: A Map of South Sudan Showing the National School Enrolment Rates**



**Source:** Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation (2010, p. 3)

Furthermore, the health status of South Sudan is deplorable (McCarthy, Khalid and Tigani 1995, pp. 18-20). The infant mortality rate currently stands at 102 deaths for every

1,000 live births while the maternal mortality rate is 20.54 deaths for every 1,000 live births (Ross 2004). Only 17% of South Sudan's children have been immunized, with as many children being currently fully immunized (Ross 2004).

The Republic of South Sudan has three arms of government, namely, the executive (with the president serving as both head of government and head of state and a vice president), the legislature (332 members of the National Legislative Assembly and a further 50 members of Council of States, all serving four-year elective terms), and the judiciary (incorporating the Supreme Court, the Courts of Appeal, the High Courts and the County Courts) (Government of the Republic of South Sudan 2011).

The country has 10 state administrative subdivisions administered by 10 elected governors, 10 state cabinets and 10 elected state legislative assemblies. The 10 states are Upper Nile, Jonglei, Lakes, Central Equatoria, Eastern Equatoria, Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Unity, Warrap, Western Equatoria and Western Bahr el Ghazal.

The dominant political party is the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (US Department of State 2011). Other significant political parties include the United Democratic Salvation Front, National Congress Party, the United Sudan African Party, the African National Congress, the SPLM for Democratic Change, the Sudan African National Union, the United Democratic Front, the South Sudan Democratic Forum and the United Democratic Salvation Front-Mainstream (Government of the Republic of South Sudan 2011).

### **1.3. Research Aim**

As noted earlier, this study was based on the realization that following its independence, South Sudan is faced with the task of tackling both old and fresh challenges, including some that were not previously anticipated. It is clear that the socio-economic and political conflicts between South Sudan and its northern neighbour, together with internal political conflict within South Sudan still pose a problem, as they have in past decades.

Added to these are the economic challenges of nation-building that are confronting Africa's newest nation; both those inherited from the past and those that are more recent.

Based on this realization, the broad aim of the study is:

- To provide a literature and evidence-based discussion of South Sudan's nation-building task, detailing the social, economic and political challenges facing the nation in its transition from autonomy to independence, and to provide recommendations founded on a critical overview of international case studies, the nation-building theory, and the renewed role of the international community.

#### **1.4. Research Objectives**

The purpose and broad aim of the study were comprehensive and overarching, incorporating numerous subset variables. It was likely that if the broad aim was pursued collectively, some of these subset variables would be lost or left unattained.

The value of the present study's findings lay in integrating all these variables into comprehensive recommendations in order to optimize the success of South Sudan's nation-building efforts. Each of the subset variables was thus seen as an important contribution to inform this course. Consequently, the broad aim of the study was broken down into five narrow, focused, achievable and concise objectives. Each of the variables incorporated in the broad aim were expressed as an independent aim, all of which converged in the attainment of the overall aim and purpose of the study.

The five narrow objectives thus formulated were:

- a) To review the successes and failures of other equivalent and or near-equivalent countries that have previously undergone the same nation-building process after

independence with the aim of applying such knowledge to the core of South Sudan's nation building efforts.

- b) To provide an overview of the nation-building theory and how it applies to South Sudan from the perspective of the existing literature.
- c) To empirically investigate the social, economic and political challenges currently facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts, as the country transits from a bloody autonomy to a peaceful independence.
- d) To explore the role of the international community in ensuring that peace and development prevails in the South Sudan region after its independence.
- e) To make recommendations based on the study's findings, that could help the new South Sudan government, the international community, the people of South Sudan and other stakeholders, to tackle current and future nation-building challenges, and by so doing chart the way forward for this young, troubled, yet promising nation.

### **1.5. Research Questions**

As noted earlier, this present study sought to explore, identify, discuss and propose solutions to the social, economic and political challenges to nation-building currently faced by South Sudan now that the war-torn nation has finally attained full independence after decades of searching for autonomy and self-determination, based on case studies, a literature review and theoretical appraisal.

Towards this purpose, the researcher formulated five distinct research questions that would enable the study to achieve its purpose, objective and aims. The answers to these research questions would constitute the findings of the present study. The five research questions are:

- a) What lessons can be drawn from the successes and failures of other equivalent and or near-equivalent countries that have previously undergone the same nation-

building process after independence to inform South Sudan's nation-building efforts?

- b) What insights can be drawn from the nation-building theory for the South Sudan case study?
- c) Which social, economic and political challenges are facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts as the country transits from autonomy to independence?
- d) What is the new role of the international community in ensuring that peace and development prevail in the South Sudan region after independence?
- e) Which are the most viable recommendations for the new South Sudan government, the international community, the people of South Sudan and other stakeholders, in tackling current and future nation-building challenges?

### **1.6. Research Assumptions**

Based on the preparatory literature review prior to conducting this study, the researcher was able to hypothesize the most probable findings. The following assumptions were postulated and subsequently tested (for validation or invalidation) after the study was implemented:

- a) In its current transitional phase from autonomy to independence, South Sudan is vulnerable to a unique set of economic, social and political challenges to nation-building.
  - i) That these nation building challenges are not predictable from current nation-building theory
  - ii) That these nation-building challenges are not predictable, similar to those expounded in historical accounts of post-conflict reconstruction in other third-world nations

- b) If these challenges are not effectively addressed, they may grossly impair not just the economic and social development of the country but the stability of the entire sub-Saharan region.
- c) The nation-building theory applies to the case of South Sudan and can provide a fitting implementation model to guide the country to a successful nation-building process.
- d) South Sudan's transition from autonomy to independence cannot succeed without the active engagement of the international community, but this engagement must be unique to the context of South Sudan.
  - i) That this active engagement of the international community must not be to impose nation-building prescriptions as has been the case in other third world countries
  - ii) That international participation should be restricted to facilitating internal dialogue, democratic governance and capacity building in a manner that allows South Sudan to confront its unique challenges using a unique, home-grown approach.
- e) A case analysis of other states that have undergone post-conflict nation-building processes offers significant lessons for South Sudan.
  - i) That the only way that South Sudan will be successful in its nation-building quest is if the country resolves all current and past conflicts, initiates healing and reconciliation, and permanently addresses the issues causing recurrent conflicts between tribes; otherwise, nation-building will fail, as has been the case elsewhere when some conflicts are left unaddressed

- ii) That South Sudan must first build a nationalistic ideology that unites all the peoples of South Sudan, and then invest in a progressive democratic process of governance as the first steps in nation-building, since their unique history and social-economic context makes national identity and unity the very foundation of any nation-building process.

### **1.7. Significance of the Study**

The present study is motivated by the realization that while South Sudan may have recorded a historical achievement by gaining independence from the North, independence only marks the beginning of a challenging journey. As noted by Gluck (2011), while the birth of the new republic is a landmark achievement for the people of South Sudan,

... enormous challenges remain, and humanitarian and development actors face multiple, competing priorities including meeting emergency humanitarian needs, strengthening community resilience, addressing the underlying drivers of conflict, promoting the development of sustainable livelihoods, ensuring that humanitarian and development assistance promote equitable development, supporting the government to protect vulnerable groups; strengthening civil society, and ensuring uninterrupted service delivery while simultaneously strengthening national institutions and ultimately empowering the government to assume responsibility for meeting the needs of its citizens (Gluck 2011, p. 2).

Being cognizant of these challenges is the first step towards the country's future, since failure to do so may lead to the failure of nation-building as has been experienced in other countries.

For example, following independence, African countries such as Somalia, Congo and Eritrea failed to develop strategic approaches to solving their challenges; as a result, their

celebration of independence was short lived. Several studies have been conducted to determine the potential challenges that come with the birth of a new nation like South Sudan.

This study will therefore offer significant reflection on the nature of potential challenges as well as the possible remedies that can be applied to avoid the fate of Somalia, Congo (DRC) and Eritrea (Herbst and Jeffrey 2000, pp. 77 - 79). The significance of this particular research lies in its potential contribution to transitional countries like South Sudan avoiding the mistakes of countries that claimed their independence, but failed to cope with the challenges that resulted from independence.

A number of challenges have been identified in the process of building a new nation, as shown in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste (East-Timor) and Eritrea's separation from Ethiopia. The significant challenges confronting these countries stimulated research on the enormity of piecing a nation together after decades of civil war. This study will enable researchers and stakeholders to weigh the numerous measures proposed by the South Sudanese administration against those previously implemented in similar circumstances, including in cases where they failed.

It is also important to note that the challenges facing South Sudan will not only directly affect the country but could destabilize the region. This study could therefore provide the international community with an important preview of the challenges facing South Sudan, the potential options available and the measures taken to meet the challenges of nation-building in other countries, in order to become more effective in dealing with similar scenarios.

This study is also significant in that it will contribute to the debate on solutions to specific problems and emphasize the importance of peace within and outside the territorial confines of South Sudan, as well as unity amongst its numerous ethnic groups in order to promote the economic, political, social and cultural development of the new republic. It will



therefore recommend that internal cohesion in South Sudanese society be prioritized as the pathway towards the building of a vibrant and robust new nation (Herbst & Jeffrey 2000, p. 81).

It has been noted that the current body of knowledge does not provide adequate understanding of the nation-building challenges facing South Sudan. No other empirical study has identified or discussed the specific problems that significantly impact South Sudan's nation-building processes. While there is a rich literature on the problems facing South Sudan, no studies have established whether and or how these problems might present challenges to nation-building efforts.

What is required is a set of findings generated from an empirical multi-perspective enquiry that contextualizes these challenges both in the unique setting of South Sudan as a new republic, and in the general nation-building theory. The present study aimed to fill this gap.

Consequently, the study investigates the challenges that are facing the newly independent Republic of Southern Sudan with special reference to how the country navigates from its autonomous status within greater Sudan to a fully vibrant and independent nation. This will enable the researcher to weigh these measures against those implemented in other countries, including those that failed. The measures could then be revised in order to render them more effective.

This study aims to contribute to the debate that seeks specific solutions to specific problems and emphasizes the importance of peace within and outside the territorial confines of Southern Sudan, as well as unity amongst its numerous ethnic groups in order promote the economic, political, social and cultural development of the new Republic. It is hoped that the study will facilitate the prioritization of internal cohesion in Southern Sudanese society as the pathway towards the building of a vibrant and robust new nation.

In summary, the following gaps exist in the academic literature on South Sudan and state building/nation-building processes in the country:

1) The majority of authors discuss the problem of state building in South Sudan without differentiating between the concepts of state-building and nation-building. This gap will be addressed by defining the concept of nation-building and distinguishing it from state-building.

2) There is insufficient comparison of the case of South Sudan and other cases of nation-building in Africa, particularly because South Sudan is a relatively young state. This gap will be filled via primary research that focuses on interviewees and respondents' vision of the issues in question.

3) It is also essential to highlight the conceptual gap. The majority of studies rely on one or two theories to explain contemporary state-building or nation-building processes in the newly independent state of South Sudan. This makes it impossible to present a full picture. Nor does it make it possible to comprehensively measure South Sudan's state-building and nation-building potential, or juxtapose and contrast the multiplicity of different approaches to the issues in question. This limitation in the academic literature is addressed by means of a multi-faceted theoretical framework based on various theories of political, economic and social processes in a newly independent state.

4) The final gap in the academic literature lies in the fact that scholars are prone to theorize on the problem of state-building in a particular state, without paying due heed to practical challenges and implications. The current study combines both the theoretical and practical implications of nation-building in South Sudan.

### **1.8. Plan and Structure of the Thesis**

This chapter provided a comprehensive introduction to the present study and outlined the foundation on which the study was implemented. It presented critical background

information, including a brief history of Sudan, and a discussion of the conflict, civil war and the emergence of factions, the birth of South Sudan (national referendum) and the new Republic of South Sudan.

This was followed by a statement of the problem, the study's main purpose, the research assumptions and its research objective, aims and questions. This introductory chapter also featured a discussion of the study's scope and research methodology, and the significance of its findings. Based on this introduction, the thesis will now focus on the implementation of the study.

The following chapter presents a detailed and critical review of contemporary literature on the studies key variables, as expressed in the five research questions. The literature review is organized in four interrelated but independent sections. Following a brief chapter introduction, the first section focuses on the concept of nation-building from a scholarly perspective.

The second section discusses the challenges confronting the Republic of South Sudan. These include establishing central governance, the all-important oil factor (from the past to the present), health and health care, human capital development (including education and manpower development), ethnic tensions and tribal animosities, equitable wealth distribution of wealth, jurisdiction and boundaries, shared resources with the North, continued conflict and the permanent bruises of past conflict, the culture of social dysfunction and conflict (the heritage of Africa's civil wars), population management, infrastructure development, relations with the international community, and the novelty of religion and other social institutions.

The third phase of the literature review examines South Sudan's future prospects. The discussion will cover issues such as resource potential (from the perspective the resource-based view theory), social and political awareness in the post-crises era and recent socio-

political and economic progress as well as the South Sudan people's hope for and commitment to a self-determined future. The RBV (resource-based view theory) is a theoretical and applied approach that posits that an organization's competitive advantage is largely the result of the application of a number of valuable intangible or tangible resources at its disposal (Penrose 1959). In the context of nation-building, the RBV theory is applied to substantiate that South Sudan as a newly independent state will succeed in its nation-building efforts if it utilizes its resources potential, which is considered its competitive advantage over other states.

The fourth and final phase of the literature review focuses on case studies' analysis. The first case study explores the issue of nationalism and trans-nationalism using a case study of Eritrea. Other case studies include state formation and the consolidation of self-rule (Zimbabwe), post-independence ethnic strife (Rwanda), failed independent states (Somalia), a never-ending crisis post-independence (Congo) and finally, the failure of post-conflict reconstruction (Sierra Leone). The chapter concludes with a summary.

The third chapter presents the theoretical framework for this research study. The brief introduction is followed by an in-depth discussion of the two-tier theoretical approach adopted for this study and an overview of the research scenario. This is followed by an exploration of the nation-building theory and the social integration theory, the two theories used to guide and inform this study. The consensus arrived at on the use of a two-tier theoretical approach is also briefly discussed. Chapter three concludes with a brief summary.

Chapter four presents the research methodology adopted, starting with a brief chapter introduction. The first section discusses the research design, followed by the primary research strategies, including an identification of the target population, the sampling procedure, sample characteristics and sample size, the primary data collection instruments and instrumentation strategies, and the primary data analysis tools and strategies. The following

section examine the secondary research strategies, the justification for the secondary research, the secondary data search criteria and the secondary data analysis process.

The fifth chapter of the thesis focuses on the study's research variables. After a brief introduction, it discusses the overall research philosophy, followed by the independent variable, and the dependent variables. Thereafter, the chapter will identify the contravening variables, followed by a discussion on how the contravening variables were delimited and controlled. A brief summary concludes this chapter.

The sixth and penultimate chapter presents the study's research findings. Following a brief introduction, the chapter presents the research findings systematically arranged in accordance with the five research questions. This chapter also tests the five assumptions identified in the introduction in order to validate or invalidate them. Once again, the chapter concludes with a brief summary.

The seventh and final chapter offers a summary of the study, a discussion of its findings, a final conclusion and appropriate recommendations. After a brief introduction, the first section highlights the purpose of the research and its objective, aims, questions and assumptions. This is followed by a summary of the study, incorporating a summary of the research process and the findings. The overall conclusion is followed by the recommendations based on the findings and suggestions for further/future research.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **2.0 Literature Review**

#### **2.1 Chapter Introduction**

##### **2.1.1 Literature Search Criteria**

This chapter reviews the literature on the challenges facing South Sudan in its nation-building process. The researcher used reliable, relevant and suitable secondary data sources for the literature review. As such, each selected source fulfils certain criteria, which ensures that they adequately meet the reliability measure required. For any publication to be deemed reliable and admissible for the literature review, it had to fulfil the following criteria:

- a) The document should be published by a reputable scholar with a credible research history in nation-building, Sudan or post-independence Africa; or an institution that is authoritative in terms of the subject matter; or be an official report by a reliable government agency.
- b) The source should be published by a reputable main stream media house in the form of a leading national and/or international publication, a government agency or by a respectable academic journal.
- c) The document should be published between 1980 and 2012.
- d) The specific source should have all the features of a reliable, credible, professional and competently written work (academic or otherwise).
- e) The subject of discussion or enquiry covered by the source should be nation-building, Sudan, South Sudan or nation-building issues in post-independence Africa.

### **2.1.2 Search Keywords and Phrases**

In order to ensure that the study accessed the most reliable and suitable sources for the review, the search process had to be both deliberate and strategic. The following seven broad keywords and phrases were used to search for and identify these secondary data sources:

- a) Nation-building
- b) Challenges facing South Sudan
- c) Sudan conflict
- d) South Sudan nation-building
- e) Nation building after independence
- f) Post-independence Africa
- g) Sudan peace agreement

These key words and phrases were used to search hundreds of sources, although only a few of these are authoritative textbooks published by experts and peer-reviewed journal articles or reliable reports carried by reputable periodicals. The next step was to determine which sources are the most relevant to the present enquiry. The most suitable sources were then selected based on their relevance to the research purpose. As such, the sources used for this literature review have relevant findings on, descriptions of, reports on or discussions of the following areas of interest:

- a) Challenges facing South Sudan
- b) Nation-building challenges facing South Sudan
- c) Post-independence Africa and nation-building
- d) South Sudan's opportunities and abilities in nation-building

### **2.1.3 Organization of the Chapter**

This chapter presents a detailed and critical review of contemporary literature. It critically appraises the current body of knowledge and past research findings on the key

variables of the study as expressed in the five research questions. The literature review is organized in four interrelated but independent sections.

The following section focuses on the concept of nation-building from a scholarly perspective. The second section of the literature review presents a discussion on the challenges confronting the Republic of South Sudan. The issues reviewed include establishing central governance, the all-important oil factor (from the past to the present), health and health care, human capital development (particularly in relation to education and manpower development), and ethnic tensions and tribal animosity.

Other issues reviewed include the equitable distribution of wealth, jurisdiction and boundaries, shared resources with the North, continued conflict and the permanent bruises of past conflicts, the culture of social dysfunction and conflict (Africa's civil war heritage), population management, infrastructure development, relations with the international community, and religion and other social institutions.

This third phase of the literature review discusses the prospects for the South Sudan's future. The fourth and last phase of the literature review analyses a number of case studies. The first case study explores the issue of nationalism and trans-nationalism using Eritrea as a case study. Other case studies are state formation and consolidation of self-rule (the case of Zimbabwe), post-independence ethnic strife (the case of Rwanda), failed independent states (the case of Somalia), a never-ending crisis in post-independence (the case of Congo), and finally, the failure of post-conflict reconstruction (the case of Sierra Leone).

## **2.2 Conceptualizing Nation-Building: A Scholarly Perspective**

The term nation-building denotes a process of structuring and conceiving a national identity through harnessing state power and consolidating state resources, and, in more recent times, resolving conflicts and establishing stability (Fritz and Menocal 2007, p. 4). The goal



of nation-building is to unify the people living within a certain state in such a way that the state is politically stable, economically viable and socially sustainable.

Nation-building efforts include the pursuit of economic growth, the creation of national symbols, use of nationalist propaganda, developing major infrastructure, and cultivating social harmony, etc. A nation is the product of the harmonious co-existence of a group of people who reach consensus on how to share resources in their territory, how to be governed, how to relate to one another and how to identify themselves, a process through which a state emerges and is able to exert its power.

The terms state-building and nation-building were not clearly distinguished in the nation-building literature prior to 1990, with most North American scholars using the two interchangeably (Whaites 2008, pp. 22 – 39). However, the contemporary political science literature has crafted fairly narrow but nevertheless distinct definitions of these terms, with nation-building referring to the creation of national identity while state-building refers to the creation of state institutions such as government (Whaites 2008, pp. 22 – 39).

In most instances, a state is formed prior to a nation, since a geographical territory is marked out as a state before the people within it have created social and government structures or economic systems. The term nation-building has its origins in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when newly-independent nations engaged in activities that were regarded as nation-building processes.

This term gained popularity in academia in the wake of African nations' independence. Most African nations had to reshape their colonial territories to create feasible nations, since the colonial powers had simply apportioned themselves jurisdictional territories without respecting tribal, ethnic or other socially entrenched boundaries.

Only when state boundaries were acceptable to those living within them could the newly independent states be regarded as constituting a viable, sustainable and coherent

national entity. As noted above, in these cases, the state was created prior to the nation, as is the case with South Sudan.

The literature notes that the 21<sup>st</sup> century has seen state and nation-building become what Fritz and Menocal (2007) describe as, “a leading priority for the international development community” (p. 4). Political science discourse now seeks a standardized understanding of nation-building processes and practices.

This trend is also prevalent amongst bilateral and multilateral institutions and players, including donors, who identify state-building as the key objective of contemporary international affairs particularly in the so-called “fragile states” (Fritz and Menocal 2007, p. 4). The scholars add that “the concern about the need to build more effective states has grown out of the confluence of several factors over the past two decades including:

- The emergence of a number of new states (the Balkans, the former Soviet Union, East Timor), a number of which have remained weak and unstable
- The recognition that poverty and reaching the MDGs has remained most intractable in fragile, conflict-affected and post-conflict states
- The negative regional and global spill-over effects of state fragility
- A more general recognition that good institutions are crucial for sustained development progress (pp. 4 -5)”.

In a sense, nation-building means giving or creating for a state, what is needed by the people living in that state and what helps these people to bond into a governable state. On a more concrete level, nation-building requires the creation of representative symbolic paraphernalia that exude a national meaning, including national languages, national days, flags, national anthems, national myths, national stadiums and national airlines.

On a more abstract level, nation building reflects the creation of national identity through deliberate efforts to mould different ethnic groups into a single nation (Fritz and Menocal 2007, pp. 6 – 11). At this level, the purpose of nation-building is to give people more similarities and shared identities than those of their different ethnic backgrounds. Nation-building elevates ethnic loyalties to state-level loyalties.

It is very important to conceive nation-building from the perspective of moulding different ethnic groups into a single nation, more so in post-colonial states. The colonial powers used the divide and rule strategy to maintain control over different ethnic groups.

These groups were discouraged from collaborating and pursuing common interests so as to keep them weak and vulnerable. When different ethnicities identified mutual aspirations and common agenda, they were eventually able to defeat the colonial powers. This underscores the purpose of nation-building to consolidate the identities of different sub-groups into one national front.

Unfortunately, after gaining independence through a nationalist spirit, most states experienced a resurgence of ethnic divisions as the national identity gave way to stronger ethnic interests. It is important to note that in this context, ethnic divisions refer to any group identities along religious, cultural, economic, regional and social lines that are in conflict with national identities (CIC/IPA 2008, pp. 5 – 14).

When ethnic passion and interests supersede national interests, states almost always revert to state-threatening divisions. Many newly independent colonial states suffered this problem in the post-independence era (Fritz and Menocal 2007, pp. 8 – 16). If ethnic pursuits stand up against national interests, conflicts between different ethnic groups that are often referred to as tribalism, erupt (Parks, T. and Cole 2010, p. 7). Tribalism has been blamed for the near-disintegration of some new states. Rwanda is an example of how tribalism can

decimate a nation; the world's most horrific genocide was initiated and fuelled by tribal animosity.

The iconic Asian case of the national disintegration of post-colonial India into Bangladesh and Pakistan is also an example of how ethnic differences amplified by geographic distance can tear apart a nation (CIC/IPA 2008, pp. 5 – 14). As noted earlier, Sudan's decade of civil conflict is largely blamed on ethnic and cultural differences. If such ethnic problems persist, South Sudan might face new secession problems as was the case with Biafra's secession attempt from Nigeria towards the end of 1970, and the continuing conflict in Ethiopia as the Somali people occupying the region of Ogaden seek autonomy (CIC/IPA 2008, pp. 5 – 14).

Fritz and Menocal (2007, p. 4) note that international policy circles are currently entangled in a debate “about state functions in terms of outputs such as social service delivery, economic management and the delivery of justice”. The scholars argue that although nation-building outputs such as stability, social amenities, infrastructure development, education and health care provision etc., are still a key measure of a state's success, several other non-output parameters are also crucial.

According to the scholars, “it is also important to pay sufficient attention to the core or constitutive dimensions of the state – including the political settlement, security and basic administrative structures, (since), if these constitutive domains remain weak, states are not able to deliver output functions in a sustained and reliable way” (Fritz and Menocal 2007, pp. 4 - 5). One of the elements that have been perceived as an important component of success in nation-building from this perspective has been a heightened sense of nationalism.

Nationalism in the contemporary sense transcends the previous contextual foundations of religion and the racial dominance of particular social groupings (Frank and Meyer 2002, p. 9). While it remains loyal to the concept of national sentiment, its

manifestation in real life pervades past notions of what nationalism really is. In other words, nationalism has transformed from a highly confined abstraction into many forms of expressing national sentiment.

For instance, the concept of banal nationalism posited by Michael Billig (1995) is a rather new form of geopolitical nation building as opposed to previous conceptions of the idea. Banal nationalism contends that former manifestations of the concept are obsolete and therefore advocates the need to adapt to the demands of the current world system. It is in this sense that the concept of nationalism will be explored drawing on the foundations of nation-building and social integration theories.

On the other hand, the concept of statehood will be reviewed within the Weberian context as well as from Herbst's theoretical framework. The concept of statehood is important in resolving issues of nation-building since it represents the ideal goals nation-building seeks to achieve. According to Max Weber (2010), a state is generally an organization that seeks to monopolize the application of physical force within its boundaries (p. 287).

Herbst (2003) further suggests that states are only considered viable if they are able to effectively control the territories within their borders. These definitions serve as the main objectives of the nation-building process which, upon achievement of the aforementioned conditions, compels the international community to recognize South Sudan as a nation to all intents and purposes (Herbst 2003, p. 40; Weber 2010, p. 288).

According to Fritz and Menocal (2007), nation-building as a concept can be described as the process of enhancing/strengthening the social and political institutions using the power of the state (p. 176). This can be achieved by means of propaganda, to promote a sense of nationalism among the people as well as infrastructural development to stimulate economic growth.

However, the debate on statehood in Africa remains active. It is largely informed, on the one hand, by the Westphalian concept of an ideal, developed and functional state that guarantees peace and security and sole authority through the use of force; and on the other hand, is based on the utilization of prefixes like 'pariah' which fail to describe the concept with regard to Africa.

The construction of the modern day state thus poses an inevitable challenge to evolving and newly formed states such as South Sudan. South Sudan will have to overcome this challenge in order to qualify as a viable political unit with firm territorial control, the capacity to support its citizens and authority over its people (Fritz and Menocal 2008, p. 177).

As noted earlier, it is imperative to differentiate between the concept of state-building and nation-building. Alan Whaites (2008) argues that these two concepts refer to two different processes that are usually interchangeable in North America but in fact contain narrow political content that are largely different from each other (p. 33). Nation-building refers to the creation of a national identity, whereas state-building pertains to the process of strengthening existing institutions within the state (Whaites 2008, p. 33).

According to President Kagame (2010), national identity is the major foundation of any form of social cohesion. Furthermore, the establishment of institutions and laws of governance which formalize the relationship between the state and citizens as well as their expectations of service delivery is very important in the development of national cohesion.

Another important feature in this regard is citizens' participation in the governance process to choose the system that serve them best, select their leaders and play an active role in decision making. Economic transformation is also important - it is only right that people expect an improvement in their lives. Nation-building therefore includes establishing the climate and mechanisms for the economic development of the whole nation. It is worth

noting that the process of nation-building can only be led and generated within the concerned country as opposed to relying on external factors.

Enloe (1990) proposes that, in a country that has been plagued by decades of internal and external conflict, and on-going border disputes, the first major priority should be stabilization and security within its borders, which requires strong internal political leadership, systems and institutions (p. 45). To some extent, this is a precondition for successful nation-building. There is a need to restore order, peace and stability in order for nation-building to succeed.

Many constructivist scholars have emphasized the ‘invented’ or ‘imagined’ nature of nations. A nation is largely a collection of individuals that share a common belief and destiny which is shaped by their shared past experiences. In this regard, nationalism is seen as a project that promotes beliefs and policies that enable the nation to effectively control its destiny (Enloe 1990, p. 45).

Baldauf and Harman (2011) observe that a major challenge confronting nation-building in South Sudan is oil production (p. 83). Although oil production started in Sudan during the 1990s, it has rapidly grown to become the economic mainstay of the economies of both North and South Sudan. It is worth noting that whereas most of the oilfields are within the boundaries of South Sudan, the oil facilities and export pipelines are largely found in the North.

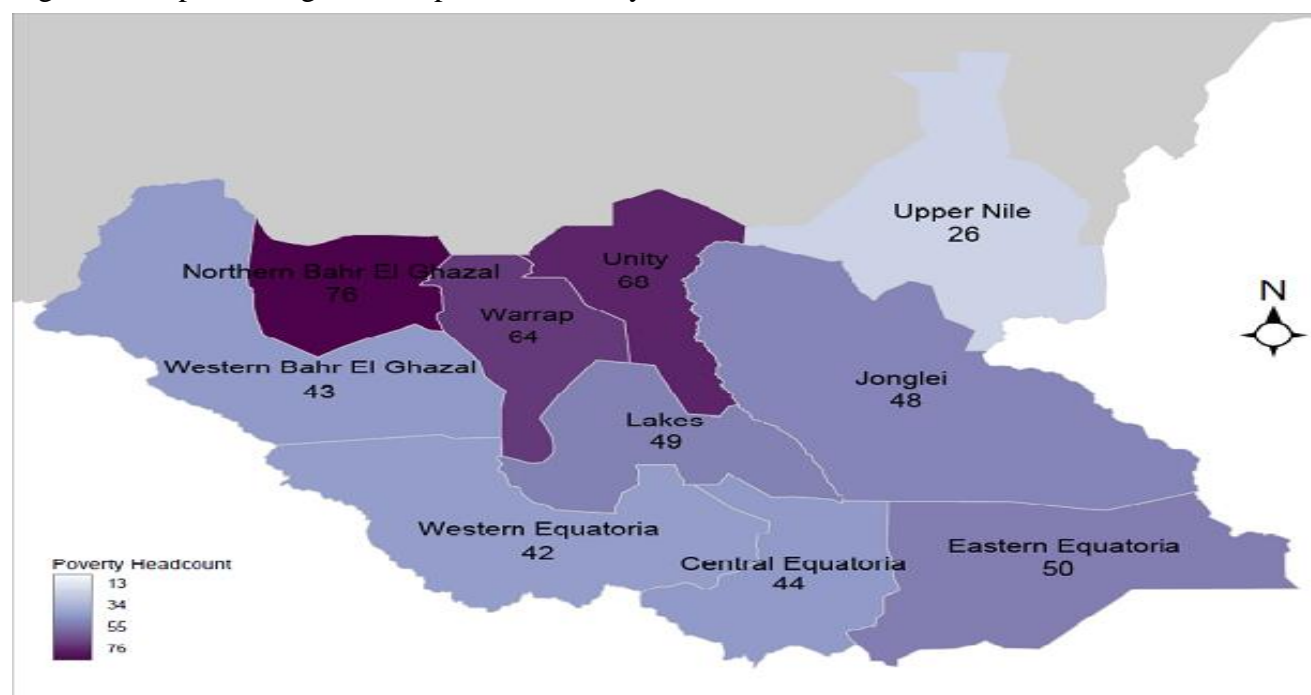
As a result, one of the core objectives of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005 was shared control of both the oil resources and revenue. Consequently, the Republic of South Sudan is currently faced with the challenge of building its own oil facilities and finding an alternative export route, particularly since it is a landlocked country.

Some of the significant challenges confronting the new administration include printing new currency, building roads, schools, and hospitals; and collecting taxes in one of

the world's least developed areas. South Sudan must also prepare to demarcate a disputed, oil-rich border region with its northern counterpart in order to guarantee its security (Baldauf and Harman 2011, p. 83). Figures 4 and 5 illustrate poverty levels across the Republic of South Sudan and its dismal road network.

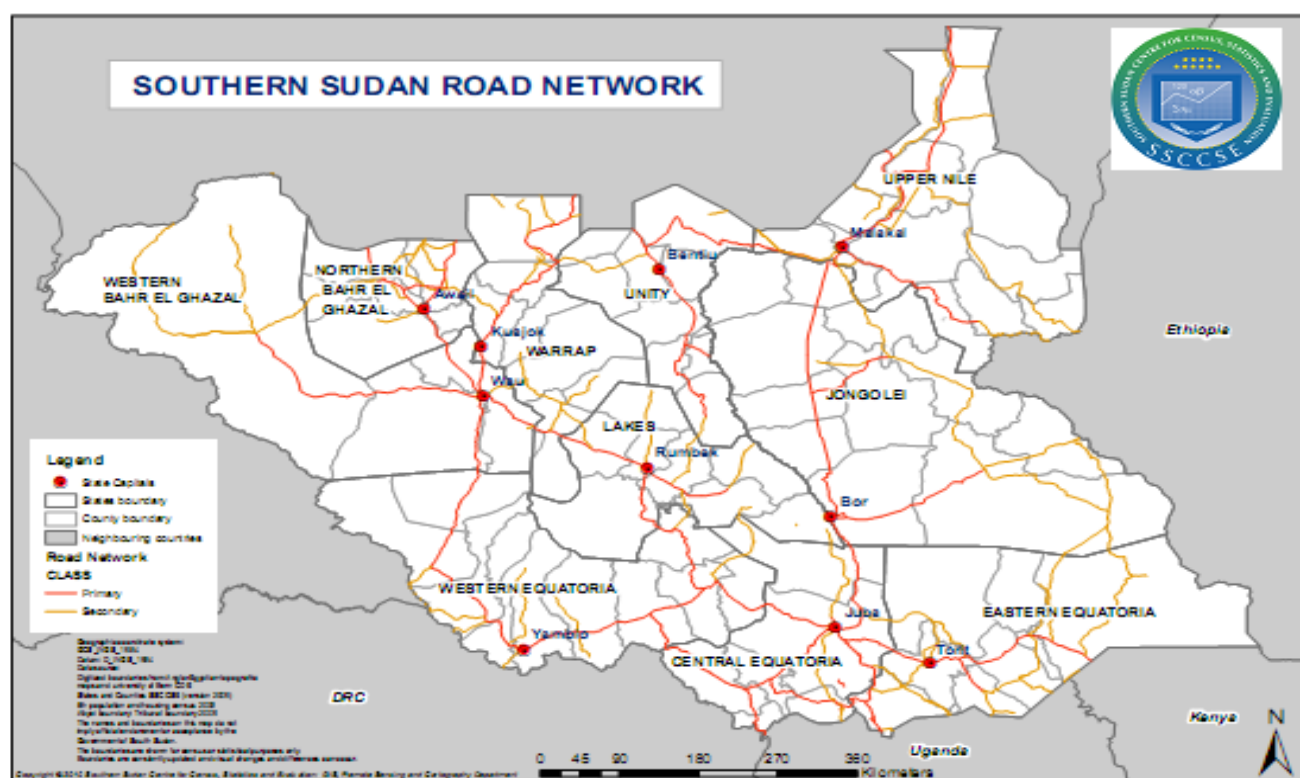


Figure 4: Map Showing the Comparative Poverty Levels of South Sudan States



Source: Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation (2010, p. 1)

Figure 5: Map Showing the Existing Road Network in South Sudan



Source: Southern Sudan Centre for Census, Statistics and Evaluation (2010, p. 1)

While the “new country already has trappings of statehood including a flag, currency and anthem” Neild observes that “South Sudan faces tricky challenges in establishing citizenship rules” (2011, p. 1). Some scholars have even questioned South Sudan’s ability to build an independent state (Baldauf and Harman 2011, p. 83).

However, others, both in scholarly and in popular discourse, have expressed optimism concerning South Sudan’s ability to rise above current challenges and successfully embrace nation-building. To understand some of the requirements that South Sudan must meet in the course of the nation-building process, it is important to highlight the component steps or qualification criteria of nation-building. Neild (2011) highlights these steps as follows.

a) Gain International Recognition

According to Neild, no territory or group of people can declare an independent sovereign nation, without being recognized by other states as a sovereign state. Zaum (2007) agrees that international recognition often starts with the concession of the two separating nations (pp. 32 - 57). If the parent nation does not agree to the secession, the new nation often fails to receive support from other states (Weber 2010, pp. 72 – 91).

A good example was when Serbia refused to concede that Kosovo had gained independence in 2008. The ensuing controversy has delayed Kosovo’s admission to the United Nations which would mark its international recognition as a state. Without international assent, South Sudan would stand no chance of being an independent state.

Furthermore, the significance of international recognition lies in the fact that international law does not recognize the right to unilateral secession, that is the right to separate from an existent sovereign and independent state without the permission of the latter. However, in some extreme cases, a nation may be granted the right to unilateral succession as a remedy. According to Vidmar (2010), the latter approach is supported in judicial writings and taken into account in international jurisprudence. This means that secession may be

regarded as a remedy – the last resort to end oppression against a people. Following Vidmar's (2010) line of thought, it can be inferred that secession may be recognized as a remedy for the right of peoples to self-determination.

Buchanan (2004) writes that secession is a remedy of last resort, "if the state persists in serious injustices toward a group" (p. 335).

However, a nation's right to remedial secession does not do away with the need for international recognition. Recognition in international law is conscious, rather than constitutional. This means that international recognition is not restricted by the framework of a particular nation's constitution, but goes beyond the prescriptions and legal systems of diverse nations and states to overcome the fundamental limitations of individual systems and rely on the legal knowledge and experience which all nations share from a nonsectarian, global perspective.

Fortunately, South Sudan was created from a process understood and supported by the international community. A London Chatham House-based international law expert, Louise Arimatsu, argued that South Sudan might gain widespread international recognition because its parent state, Sudan, readily agreed to the secession and attended the independence celebrations (Neild 2011, p.10; Fick 2011, p. 6).

South Sudan is currently on course to achieve international recognition by key institutions of the international community including the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Neild 2011, p. 11). Based on this criterion, the country seems poised for success in its nation-building efforts.

#### b) Establishing Central Government

The starting point of nation-building is establishing governance structures since "no country can function effectively without a government" (Neild 2011, p. 14). The form and

nature of the government is rarely an issue as long as a functioning system is in place (Zaum 2007, pp. 32 – 57; Weber 2010, pp. 72 – 91; Bourgnon 2007, p. 9).

In a democracy such as South Sudan, the form of government must include elections and electoral systems, regional administration and democratic representation (Weber 2010, pp. 72 – 91).

South Sudan has the advantage of having inherited a government structure from Sudan prior to secession. Following its independence, South Sudan has taken a number of steps to build a functioning government structure. While many challenges remain on this front, it is clear that, based on this criterion South Sudan is advancing towards successful nation-building.

#### c) National Borders

One characteristic of a state is that it has a definite territory and territorial borders with other nations. Current international law employs a novel principle to determine national borders known as *uti possidetis* (Neild 2011, p. 16). *Uti possidetis* means “as you possess”.

Under *uti possidetis*, a newly independent state claims its borders along pre-existing regional boundaries (Zaum 2007, pp. 32 - 57).

A good example is East Timor whose state boundaries were reclaimed from pre-colonial boundaries after gaining independence from Indonesia at the close of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This principle is praised for its ability to avoid subsequent conflicts between divided nations.

According to the principle of *uti possidetis*, territory and property is kept by its possessor at the end of a conflict, unless otherwise prescribed by the parties to a treaty; if such a contractual document does not provide any terms and conditions concerning the possession of territory and property taken during the war, then the principle of *uti possidetis* will prevail (“Uti possidentis law and legal definition”, n.d.).

Hence, the emphasis is on possession at the end of a conflict. This principle may be applied in both a colonial and non-colonial context. That is, in some cases, it recognizes pre-existing regional boundaries whereas in other cases, pre-existing colonial boundaries are recognized as the national boundaries.

Everything depends on the fact of possession at the moment when the conflict is over. Another fundamental feature of this principle lies in its secondary nature. This means that it is applied only if there is no agreement between the parties to a conflict which may contain provisions regulating the national boundaries.

According to Fagbayibo (2012), the original objective of the principle of *uti possidetis* was to sanction colonial boundaries. The author differentiates between two interrelated motives for the adoption of the principle. The first was to prevent violence between African nations over disputed territories, while the second was to stop the wave of secessionist movements within the national boundaries of existing countries.

However, in using the *uti possidetis* principle, South Sudan will have to do what no other new nation has done before, as most of its territory falls within pre-existing borders with other states. South Sudan will therefore have to carve a new borderline with Sudan, its northern neighbor (Shankleman 2011, pp. 3 – 11).

This borderline was loosely agreed upon during the secession agreement (Shankleman 2011, pp. 3 – 11). However, the agreement did not resolve some fiercely disputed territorial borderlines (Osman 2010, p. 2). The oil resources available in such regions and the need to share them between the two states exacerbate this dispute (Neild 2011, p. 16; Osman 2010, p. 1; Baldauf and Harman 2011, p. 83).

The situation in South Sudan differs from that in Eritrea or Bangladesh. The main peculiarity of South Sudan's self-determination is the human security-based approach which prioritizes the will of people vis-à-vis the principles of *uti possidetis* and territorial integrity.

Another specificity of this case is the fact that Sudan waived its claim to territorial integrity and promptly recognized the secession of the new South Sudanese state. The final particularity of this case is South Sudan's independence outside the process of decolonization.

In contrast, after a prolonged civil war, Eritrean independence was consented to by the Transitional Government of Ethiopia, which was established with the help of the Eritrean pro-independence movement. Thus, Eritrea became independent in the colonial context and under very complicated conditions, irrespective of the fact that Ethiopia agreed to such independence.

On the other hand, Bangladesh became independent with prior consent from its parent state. In contrast to Sudan, Pakistan was not prompt in extending independence to Bangladesh. Furthermore Bangladesh gained independence as a result of decolonization, whereas South Sudan emerged outside the context of decolonization.

In order to better grasp the disparity between the conditions under which South Sudan and Bangladesh became independent states, it is important to discuss the nature of independence as a result of decolonization. Firstly, decolonization is "the process by which a colonial power divests itself of sovereignty over a colony – whether a territory, a protectorate, or a trust territory – so that the colony is granted autonomy and eventually attains independence" (Garner 2009, p. 470).

From this international legal definition of the term, it is possible to make several inferences pertinent to the context of this study. The first is that decolonization is a dynamic process that involves two players with unequal status: 1) a colonial power; and 2) a colony. This inequality lies in the fact that they have separate territories: the former possesses sovereignty over the latter's territory, whereas the latter does not have sovereignty over the former's territory.

The second inference is that decolonization results in the colony's autonomy which is granted by the colonial power and consequent independence. This means that the colony has no competence to decide on the issues of autonomy and independence under international law, because only the colonial power is entitled to grant autonomy and independence to the colony.

Given this scenario, it is clear that South Sudan is not the result of decolonization due to several reasons. First, South Sudan emerged as a result of the 'splitting' of one sovereign state, rather than one state (a colonial power) granting autonomy to a separate territory that is not an integral part of the sovereign state's territory, but a separate territory controlled by the colonial power (a colony).

Not only from the legal perspective, but also from the political standpoint, independence through decolonization is not applicable to the case of South Sudan. Firstly, South Sudan has never been a colony of a foreign state, but was an autonomous region of Sudan. Secondly, South Sudan's independence was the result of a referendum that was passed with 98,83 % of the vote and was not granted by a colonial power.

#### d) Citizenship

Every newly established nation needs to determine who its nationals are; who can be its citizens and the criteria used to grant citizenship to an individual. All nations must determine the requirements for citizenship through processes such as birth or naturalization (Weber 2010, pp. 72 – 91). This is an essential step for South Sudan. According to Neild, "for South Sudan, this could be a major stumbling block to nationhood since major issues still need to be resolved" (2011, p. 18). For instance, millions of its citizens are refugees in Sudan, Uganda and many surrounding nations, as well as in Europe and North America. After the world's greatest displacement of people in the decades of conflict, the South Sudanese are dispersed across the world.

However, perhaps the most significant problem is separating its people from those of Sudan (Mahbubani 2009, pp. 99 – 132). Hundreds of thousands of southerners are currently living in Sudan while many northerners are currently living in South Sudan in terms of the new border (Shankleman 2011, pp. 3 – 11).

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are fears that a significant number of formerly Sudanese will be rendered stateless since they do not belong to either the new Sudan or the new South Sudan (Neild 2011, p. 18). Commendably, South Sudan has announced that it will formerly recognize dual citizenship of Sudan and South Sudan, and has called on Sudan to reciprocate the gesture. While it will take some time for South Sudan to sort out the current problems with its citizenship, progress thus far has been impressive according to observers (Osman 2010, p. 3).

e) Constitution

All of the foregoing requirements of statehood are prescribed by and defined by a country's constitution. Indeed, the constitution is a fundamental component of a state, providing the template upon which all a country's laws are based (Bourgnon 2007, p. 11). Often referred to as the supreme law of a country, the constitution provides a standard guide to all government administrations on the application of the rule of law. While noting that a constitution is not a mandatory component of statehood, Neild points out that "almost all countries find it a useful way to formalize rules of government" (2011, p. 21). This ensures that any administration does not work on its own terms but on the set of codes laid down in the constitution (Weber 2010, pp. 72 – 91).

At present, South Sudan is operating under a constitution written during the 2005 peace deal that ended the conflict with Sudan. A final post-independence version of the constitution is not yet in place. Quoting Paulos Tesfagiorgis, currently a constitutional adviser at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Neild points out that



“Southern Sudan has an interim constitution, but has yet to produce a document its people can unite behind - and without it, South Sudan will struggle to assert its independence within its own borders” (2011, p. 21). It is important that part of South Sudan’s nation-building efforts go into defining this “extremely important document” to help the country “frame its politics, the economy and other policy” (2011, p. 21).

f) State Name

Just as an individual needs an identity, part of which is a name, so too does a state. While giving a state a name might be thought of as a simple matter, it is often a very complex, deliberative and contested process. South Sudan deliberated on its name during peace negotiations when there were far more weighty issues at hand than the name of the independent state (Osman 2010, p. 2). This might have made it easy to unanimously agree on the new name, but the name itself suggests that not much thought was put into it. The territory currently called the state of South Sudan was previously called Southern Sudan; all the negotiators did was dropping the –ern suffix.

Fortunately, there are indications that the matter is being given fresh thought now that the new nation has become a reality. The Information Minister of South Sudan has been reported as saying that more than a dozen names had been and are still being suggested for the state. These include Kush Republic, Nile Republic, Azania and Juwama. The New York Times reported that the minister said that the Republic of South Sudan may be only a temporary name and that, “should the people of South Sudan in the future want a new name, they will have that chance” (Neild 2011, p. 22).

g) National Flag

It is not a mandatory requirement for a country to design and use a unique flag. However, there is no country in the world that does not currently have a unique national flag (Weber 2010, pp. 61 –73). There is a story behind every national flag. For example,

Indonesia's red and white national flag was created when upon victory, Indonesian independence fighters tore one strip (blue) from the tricolour Dutch flag to demonstrate the colonists' defeat. The American national flag of stars and stripes has evolved alongside the country's growth and the consolidation of the states into a union.

Flags carry national colours, animals or birds, and/or symbols that have significant meanings for the people (Ranger, 1993, pp. 22 – 41). Neild states that, “as a talisman to rally patriotism, nothing quite beats a fluttering flag” (2011, p.24). South Sudan already has a national flag designed with a tricolour base of red, black and green and banded by stripes of white, featuring a blue triangle and a yellow star. This is an encouraging achievement in the country's nation-building efforts and hopefully, the national flag will succeed in evoking a spirit of nationalism and unity.

#### h) Anthem

The national anthem often accompanies the national flag. This is a rousing tune that expresses national sentiments and expresses the national vision and spirit. National anthems mark state events, flag raising moments and international occasions in order to underline a nation's identity (Ranger 1993, pp. 22 – 41). National anthems and flags are used at international sporting events to celebrate winning contenders.

Not all national anthems have been successful in expressing national sentiments, and vision and spirit. For example, many citizens feel that the first stanza of Peru's national anthem, written in 1821, is too gloomy. South Sudan selected its national anthem following a national competition for the best tune and lyrics. The winning entry beat 42 others and features such lyrics as exalt “the martyrs whose blood cemented our national foundations” and includes horns and drums (Neild 2011, p. 24).

#### i) Currency

Last, but not least, Neild identifies the national currency as another important component of statehood. While not all states issue a unique currency, a national currency is an important tool to build nationalism. A common currency will be a vital ingredient in overcoming ethnic differences in South Sudan as will a national anthem, flag, constitution and a national name. Such initiatives are important as a country's peace process is rarely an imported commodity but a local creation (Osman 2010, p. 2).

In the words of Othieno, the best alternatives proposed to resolve conflicts in delicate regions have included "state-building efforts that are shaped and led from within the state to ensure legitimacy and sustainability" (2008, p. 2). South Sudan may not have the option of using another country's currency as did East Timor that opted to use the U.S. dollar. More than any other country, South Sudan needs to find common factors to unite its highly multi-ethnic population and a common currency will be an contribution towards this end (Shankleman 2011, pp. 3 – 11).

With its oil resources, South Sudan possesses economic clout and goodwill to mint its own currency. Remarkably, South Sudan has already commenced the issue of the South Sudan Pound, distancing its economy from the Sudan Pound which has suffered severe devaluation ever since it became apparent that the North was losing its hold on oil assets in the South (Shankleman 2011, pp. 3 – 11). However, this may also "create a panic as people try to offload their northern pounds, doing little to help uneasy relations with the parent country" (Neild 2011, p. 24). It is important that South Sudan manages its new currency in a way that will not aggravate relations with its parent country.

### **2.2.1. State-building versus nation-building**

The title of this study is "From autonomy to independence: the challenges of nation-building in South Sudan". This means that the current investigation revolves around the concept of nation-building in relation to South Sudan. In order to ensure the coherence and

preciseness of this research, it is essential to verify the dimensions of nation-building as a socio-political phenomenon and compare it with the phenomenon of state-building.

There is a rich literature on the differences between state-building and nation-building. Chandler (2006) writes that the term ‘state-building’ implies the development of international mechanisms directed at treating cases of state collapse or at enhancing failing states (p. 221). Therefore, the concept of state-building revolves around the concept of failing or collapsed states.

Turning to nation-building, Chandler (2006) observes that the shift from colonial regimes to independence was often analyzed under the concept of “nation-building” (p. 221). The author bases his inferences on important studies by Karl Deutsch and William Foltz, Rupert Emerson and Lucian.

Chandler’s (2006) main argument is that the concept of nation may be confusing, because of the different meanings and attachments of a specific group of people. In contrast, the idea of state-building is much clearer and concerns the notions of public administration, governmental units with a division of powers, and at the very least, a minimum rule of law (Chandler 2006, p. 221).

In the author’s opinion, state-building is a very expensive enterprise as it demands the transfer of civil servants from national administrations to serve state-building process. Chandler’s (2006) arguments suggest that state-building is a modern concept which delineates the all-embracing process of developing a state with its public administration and a minimum rule of law. On the other hand, nation-building is an earlier concept which denotes endeavors to rebuild the structures of a failed or collapsed state.

Chandler’s (2006) research shows that state-building is a broader concept as it is applicable to all states and countries which seek the development of public administration and law. The concept of nation-building is narrower as it applies only to colonial context, in

which colonies are denied and nations are granted the right to develop a free independent state. To put it briefly, the idea of nation-building is to establish a developed state in accordance with national interests and national policies.

The vital difference between the concepts of state-building and nation-building can be expressed through one of the slogans of West African anti-colonial movements in the 1950s: “Good government is no substitute for self-government” (Chandler 2006, p. 221). This slogan clearly demonstrates that the phenomenon of nation-building is more specific than the phenomenon of state-building.

The idea behind nation-building is to build a state which will satisfy the self-determination interests of a separate nation. On the other hand, the idea behind state-building is to establish stable and effective public administration and the rule of law, without emphasizing the right of certain peoples to self-determination.

Scott (2007) also discusses the principle differences between state-building and nation-building. The author conducted an extensive literature review on the problem of state-building versus nation-building and found there is no agreement on the relationship between these concepts. Some scholars regard these terms as having different meanings (Hippler 2004; Goldsmith 2007), while others use them interchangeably. According to Scott (2007), the majority of scholars use the term ‘state-building’ to delineate interventionist strategies to rebuild and restore the apparatus of the state or public institutions, including the bureaucracy. However, ‘nation-building’ relates to the establishment of a cultural identity which is attached to the specific territory of the state.

Scott (2007) adds that the majority of theorists concede that a well-organized state is a necessary prerequisite to the development of a nation. In this sense, many experts are inclined to believe that state-building is an essential element of nation-building. Another group of scholars maintains that state-building is a broader concept which implies that external actors

can engage in the development of a state. However, several researchers claim that nation-building is intrinsically different and is shaped only by the emerging society.

Taking the diversity of academic approaches to the relationship between state-building and nation-building into account, Scott (2007) concludes that the terminology of state-building is more appropriate to the context of socio-political studies. Nonetheless, Scott (2007) agrees that the formal superiority of state-building terminology over nation-building terminology does not prevent experts from different fields from using the terms interchangeably.

The author states that the interchangeable use of the two concepts is clearly visible in the framework of media and non-governmental organizations. As a result, the term 'state-building' is usually substituted for 'nation-building'. Despite the endeavors of popular culture and foreign policy trends to blend these concepts, some scholars consider the phenomenon of state-building and nation-building two opposing forces (Ottaway 1999). In Ottaway's opinion, the antagonism between state-building and nation-building lies in the fact that the former seeks to create a homogenous nation-state, whereas the latter focuses on the significance of cultural identity which relies on a people's desire for self-determination.

Scott (2007) proffers a further reason why the majority of scholars do not differentiate between state-building and nation-building – "the literature really neglects the 'building a cultural identity' aspects of nation-building, choosing instead to focus on the more technical aspects of building state capacity" (p. 4).

This means that the component, 'building a cultural identity', makes nation-building a more abstract notion, whereas the facets of state-building are concrete and devoid of intrinsic controversies. Thus, to deny the element of 'building a cultural identity' is to simplify the process of state-building by reducing it to the technical issues of developing a state apparatus and public institutions. There is no doubt that the denial of the 'building a cultural identity'

component constitutes a major shortcoming of state-building doctrine as compared to nation-building doctrine. This is discussed in the next section.

Also, the processes of nation-building are often connected with conflict transformation processes. The concept of ‘conflict transformation’ is a relatively new idea within the broader field of conflict and peace studies. As a relatively new domain, it is still in a process of defining, shaping, and creating terminology. During the 1990s a number of theorists (Galtung, 1995; Rupesinghe, 1995; Schwerin, 1995; Spencer and Spencer, 1995; Väyrynen, 1991) have facilitated the solidification of what is called “a shift” toward conflict transformation in the language used in the field and practice of peace research and conflict resolution.

### **2.2.2. The intrinsic limitations of state-building**

Chandler (2006) demonstrates that the idea of state-building has both advantages and disadvantages. The major superiority of the term ‘state-building’ over the concept of ‘nation-building’ lies in the fact that the term ‘state’ is more accurate and intelligible, whereas the term ‘nation’ is sometimes confusing and dependent on specific national inclinations and interests. Nonetheless, the concept of state-building is very broad and may not be appropriate in certain cases.

The main thesis of Richmond’s (2011) study is that “state-building, like liberal or neoliberal peacebuilding, is failed by design” (Richmond 2011, Introduction). This assertion is underpinned by several arguments.

Firstly, the author believes that the phenomenon of state-building originates in the European world view, and thus fails to include urgent responses to economic necessities, and to provide public services swiftly enough to reduce outbursts of violence and address the root causes of conflict.

Secondly, Richmond (2011) maintains that liberal forms of peacebuilding follow the same pattern as the normative universe they derive from (including donors' institutions, or NGOs based in New York, Geneva, Washington, Brussels, London, Tokyo, Paris, etc.). In view of the above, liberal forms of peacebuilding are rarely commensurate with the specific context they are employed in – the context of development and post-conflict settings.

An observation of conflict trends in Africa indicates that intrastate armed conflicts, which were on the rise between 1990 and 1998, have significantly decreased in number. Many conflicts on the continent have been settled and others are in the process of being resolved, generally through peaceful means. However, a number of conflicts remain a challenge in Africa.

The daunting challenges of post-conflict reconstruction facing the majority – if not all – African countries recovering from violent conflicts pose the risk of conflict relapse. This trend has been observed in recent years in a number of African countries including Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Management plays a significant role as an instrument of conflict resolution.

Thus, Richmond (2011) points out that Western-based doctrine of state-building and peacebuilding should not be deemed an effective mechanism to address a failed or collapsed state, because this doctrine neglects the economic interests, specificities and demands of development and post-conflict settings. Western policymakers develop strategies based on their world view and interests.

Thirdly, Richmond (2011) writes that the doctrine of state-building is not effective, because state-building, as well as peacebuilding strategies, cannot connect with their target populations, and thus lack support from the people at which the strategies are directed. More specifically, Richmond (2011) observes that the Western countries that elaborate and



implement the strategies of state-building and peacebuilding fail to understand the identity, institutions, sovereignty, law, rights, and needs of indigenous peoples.

Another problem emanating from the current doctrine of state-building is the fact that this doctrine envisions the phenomenon of state-building in a narrow (local/regional) context which is devoid of global significance. It is possible to agree with the author that every instance of state-building needs to be approached from the perspective of its global importance. Post-conflict intervention should not be restricted to the framework of one particular country, because the success of post-conflict intervention depends on how easily the treated country can interact with its neighbors.

The post-conflict reconciliation often ensues from the post-conflict intervention. The process of reconciliation can be carried out by means of several instruments, such as healing, truth-telling, restorative justice, and reparation. Also, the post-conflict reconciliation operates through three sequential stages.

The first stage is the replacement of fear by non-violent coexistence. At this stage, it is essential to step away from hatred, hostility, and bitterness, in order to attain the non-violent coexistence between the antagonist individuals and groups. The second stage of the post-conflict reconciliation lies in the idea of building confidence and trust in the situation when fear no longer rules the process of post-conflict intervention. The third stage is the development of empathy. To put it briefly, empathy is needed for the purpose of soothing the pain. Empathy originates from the victims' willingness to hear the justifications and reasons for the hatred of the offenders. In this sense, truth-telling is a precondition to reconciliation, because it gives rise to an objective opportunity for individuals to comprehend the past in terms of shared collective responsibility and suffering.

Richmond (2011) concludes that the liberal narrowness of state-building and peacemaking in post-conflict states should be substituted with an international approach to the problems of failed and collapsed states.

The foregoing discussion suggests that, a major limitation of state-building doctrine lies in the failure to build a cultural identity. This means that the state-building doctrine does not acknowledge the need to intertwine the development of cultural identity with the process of restoring and developing the state apparatus and public institutions (Scott 2007).

As noted earlier, the doctrine of state-building recognizes the primacy of the principles of good governance. It also frequently relies on the involvement of external actors, neglecting the vitality of internal cultural integrity. Scott (2007) observes that state-building is a somewhat technological process. The process of state-building is exemplified by the following measures: tax reforms, service delivery measures, civil service reform, democratization, infrastructure development, public financial management, etc.

The technical nature of state-building implies that it is not a comprehensive phenomenon, but rather a set of procedural steps and goals. Nonetheless, some scholars still consider state-building a part of development policy (Mallaby 2002). However, the majority of experts are reluctant to have recourse to the language of state-building, due to this concept's intrinsic contradictions. Indeed, many experts believe that the concept of state has the same ambivalent meanings as the term nation; thus it is imprudent to assert the superiority of state-building as a more accurate and consistent term.

Scott (2007) notes, that, the socio-political literature is significantly divided when it comes to the notion of the state. Hence, Zartman (1995) and Chesterman et al. (2004) believe that the notion of the nation-state is the cornerstone of the international system and therefore the entity of the state must be preserved at all events. In contrast, some scholars observe that states are frequently not worth preserving and that the international community should allow

them to disintegrate “so that new states can emerge that more accurately reflect pre-existing local ‘nations’” (Brock 2001; Ottaway 2002).

In view of the above, the doctrine of state-building is limited to the concept of the state without acknowledging the real necessity to reflect the interests of pre-existing local ‘nations’. The doctrine of nation-building should therefore be considered more advanced and appropriate than the doctrine of state-building, as the former rotates around the interests of pre-existing nations, whereas the latter is restricted to the concept of state as an artificial entity.

Apart from the concept of state, a major limitation of state-building doctrine arises from the socio-political context. According to Scott (2007), there are no blueprints on how to carry out effective state-building interventions. While some scholars highlight the need to implement reforms in the local context, there is little clarity on how to ensure that such reforms are successful.

Another drawback of state-building doctrine in comparison with nation-building doctrine lies in the fact that the former is more directed at the establishment of good governance, without taking into consideration the necessity of democratic governance (Chandler 2004). This means that the state-building doctrine is incapable of satisfying the needs of unrepresented peoples and nations which are fighting for self-determination. However, it is impossible to build a democratic government in a state where the people’s fundamental right to self-determination is not guaranteed.

While not opposed to Chandler’s (2004), point of view, MacGinty (2011) observes that a lengthy list of problems is encountered along the road of state-building. They include corruption, outright resistance, donor fatigue, sectarianism, the informal economy, factionalism, and unpropitious regional circumstances.

In the author's opinion, the majority of these problems stem from the irrelevance of the Western model of statehood. This model will not succeed in post-conflict and developing settings. Moreover, Western policymakers' efforts to hybridize antagonistic statehood systems do not lead to positive outcomes.

MacGinty's conclusion is simple – it is time that Western decision makers refrain from forcing developing countries into accepting the Western model of the 'ideal' state. This suggests that the doctrine of nation-building is more viable in post-conflict and developing states, because it takes into consideration the cultural identity of the people inhabiting a concrete state, whereas the doctrine of state-building may be reduced to the technical propagation of Western liberal democracy in 'alien' settings. All this evidence suggests the superiority of the nation-building doctrine.

### **2.2.3. The specificities and appropriateness of nation-building in the context of South Sudan**

Having demonstrated the superiority of the doctrine of nation-building over state-building, it is essential to discuss the peculiarities of nation-building processes in South Sudan. Considering the country's recent independence, nation-building processes in South Sudan need to be carried out from the perspective of their applicability and modernity. Sedra (2013) observes that the shift in contemporary state-developing practices is linked to historical global changes.

According to Sedra (2013), the end of the Cold War led to a major overhaul of international security architecture and the emergence of new strategic imperatives for the West. In the current era, state failure is often connected to the failure of small and developing states. Mark Duffield argues that, "the question of security has almost gone full circle: from being concerned with the biggest economies and war machines in the world to an interest in some of the smallest" (Duffield 2002, p. 37).

Duffield (2002) believes that globalization is responsible for instability in the South. Globalization has divided the world into two zones: 1) a zone of peace, or the zone of the liberal capitalism, and 2) a zone of conflict. In line with Duffield (2002) and Sedra's (2013) reasoning, the main objective of South Sudan's post-conflict government is to shape its state apparatus and public institutions in line with its cultural identity. It is incumbent on South Sudan to avoid the alluring world view of the West that Africa is a priori a place of conflict and war.

This study's analysis of the correlation between state-building and nation-building doctrines has shown that South Sudan should not have recourse to state-building as the development of international mechanisms directed at treating cases of state collapse or at enhancing failing states, because South Sudan is not a failed state. Nor is it a collapsed state. South Sudan is a new state which requires nation-building, that is, the development of state apparatus and public institutions in line with the cultural identity of the country's citizens.

Furthermore, South Sudan does not require state-building in the form of neoliberal peacemaking in line with Western standards, because the phenomenon of state-building originates from a European world view that does not provide for urgent responses to economic necessities, and also fails to provide public services swiftly enough to reduce outbursts of violence and address the root causes of conflict.

The recent outbursts of violence in Jonglei State of South Sudan demonstrate that the Western doctrine of state-building is inappropriate to the context of South Sudan, as it fails to present effective responses or proactive measures to address economic necessities, and also fails to reduce outbursts of violence and address the root causes of conflict.

The violence in Jonglei State suggests that preventing violence requires intense development of state infrastructure, as well as equitable allocation of natural resources,

including water, as well as consideration of local citizens' cultural needs ('Briefing: why the violence in South Sudan's Jonglei State' 2013).

In view of the above, the nation-building rather than the state-building model of development is expected to prevent violence in South Sudan as the latter does not take into account the national (cultural) specificities of separate regions of a state.

Another drawback of the state-building doctrine is that it is more directed at the establishment of good governance, without taking into consideration the necessity of democratic governance (Chandler 2004).

In the case of South Sudan, only democratic governance will put an end to violence and ensure the stability of the state, because democratic governance is the best mechanism for the protection of fundamental human rights. However, the democratic governance of South Sudan needs to be accompanied by the building of cultural identity.

## **2.3 Case Studies**

### **2.3.1 State Formation and Consolidation of Self-Rule: The Case of Zimbabwe**

It was surprising for the present researcher that almost all the literature on nation and or state building in Africa covered examples of conflict and war from Sierra Leone to Somalia, and Sudan to Congo. The irony is that Zimbabwe has almost always found its way into this discourse, not for being at war or having had a serious civil conflict, but for having been what some experts refer to as a failed, self-ruling African state.

African leaders have struggled to build nations within the geographical boundaries imposed by colonialists. While these regions encompassed highly heterogeneous populations prior to colonial rule, the struggle for independence helped bring these different communities together with a single goal. However, the fact that they fought for and attained independence together, did not translate to harmoniously bonding these communities into one nation. After

gaining independence, they awoke to the realization that they were still different peoples, although constrained within a singular state border.

Groves notes that, “the nation-building process heralded some real achievements during liberation struggles, however, drawing on the case of Zimbabwe, ... nationalist liberation movements were often more fragmented than is commonly acknowledged” (2008, p. 4). Since the African leaders who gained power after independence retained the colonial state boundaries, their first goal was to consolidate their states and their constituent communities into one nation using “coercive and homogenizing policies” (2008, p. 4). Scholars have traced numerous African problems to this source, chief among them the frequent conflicts and violence in African states.

Groves (2008) argues that nation-building in Africa has failed because instead of accepting the differences among the African communities in one state, nation-building efforts have tried to suppress such differences. This is due to the theory that a nation refers to a “collection of people who have come to believe that they have been shaped by a common past and are destined to share a common future” (Enloe 1990, p. 45). Nation-building is the attempt to “foster common beliefs and to promote policies which permit the nation to control its own destiny” (Enloe 1990, p. 45). This notion of nation-building has led scholars and African leaders to perceive pre-independence Africa as similar to post-independence Africa, something that Grove (2008) finds with.

According to Grove, the struggle for liberation united the African people in liberation movements. In the case of Zimbabwe, Ranger (1985) and Lan (1985) argue that it was possible for different communities and social groups to share a common goal because they shared common experiences of marginalization, suffering, land alienation and authoritarianism, which were common issues under white rule. Women and men were able to unite as well as different tribes (Seidman 1984, p. 419).

However, despite this seemingly harmonious unity among different communities and social group, experts have of late argued that the liberation movements concealed numerous differences. According to Kriger (1992), the liberation movement in Zimbabwe was not advanced by a single group pursuing a common future. The scholar argues that liberation nationalism only served to conceal the significant differentiations among supporters with regard to age, gender, wealth, ethnicity and ideology.

While such differences did not limit the success of liberation struggles, after independence what Groves calls “violently contested multiple imaginings” re-emerged (2008, p. 8). Most African leaders sought to suppress these differences by eliminating any opposition to the ruling elite. According to Raftopoulos (1999), a new authoritarian nationalism slowly emerged and utilized state machinery to violently repress any opposition in the name of nation-building (p. 115). Raftopoulos notes that, ZANU under Mugabe “conflated itself with the Zimbabwean state and, in its efforts to consolidate power and build a congruent nation, it has denied the potential for diversity, enforcing uniformity and homogeneity instead” (1999, p. 117). In the 1980s for example, ZANU dispatched state forces to Matabeleland to completely eliminate the Ndebele minority ethnic group that constituted its main political rival party, ZAPU. ZANU has since used rape, torture and murder to enforce totalitarian rule.

The consequence of such authoritarian nationalism is a country with a very grim future. State media now hails Mugabe as a national hero and those with divergent opinions as traitors. Women’s rights are oftentimes suppressed and denied. Education and scholarship has been trashed (Ranger 2004, p. 215). All this has been done in attempt to deny diversity and embrace a vague and unrealistic common nationalism.

As Groves note, “the lens of authoritarian nationalism simply leaves no room for alternative imaginations” (p. 12). What makes Zimbabwe an important case study for this



research is that it illustrates that, while pluralist and inclusive nationalism could achieve much when focused on a common goal, as was the case when different communities and social groups in Zimbabwe successfully struggled against colonialism, after independence, homogenizing nation-building efforts led to authoritarian nationalism that has ruined a once-promising state.

As noted earlier, South Sudan's population consists of numerous ethnic groups, languages, religions and cultures. If embraced, the different communities and their different aspirations can be focused on successful nation building without the need to make them a homogenous people. Khartoum's greatest failure that led to decades of war with the South was the attempt to Islamize the Christian South. Had they left the South to be, as they have ultimately been forced to do, more than two million lives would not have been lost to war and the country would not have plunged into self-destruction for decades. Groves argues that, "The failure to maintain - or create - an emancipating pluralist nationalism might be considered the central limitation of the nation building process in Africa" (p. 15). South Sudan must also learn to embrace rather than suppress the differences among her people. The country's new government would be ill-advised to pursue nation-building by means of coercive, hierarchical and divisive policies. Rather than seek for authoritarian homogenization, South Sudan should pursue a nation-building approach that accepts, embraces and cements pluralism.

### **2.3.2 Post-Independence Strife: The Case of Rwanda**

In a speech delivered to the International Institute for Strategic Studies on the challenges of nation-building in Africa, Rwandan President, Paul Kagame noted that, nation-building "is a topic that is pertinent to us in Africa, but it is equally important for developed countries since nation building is a continual process". The distinguished African leader conceived nation-building as "a long and challenging political process" for every country and

noted that it is important for leaders to understand that “most nations have their unique circumstances and each one, throughout history, has built and developed itself around certain distinguishing core features”. President Kagame has been the key in turning around the fortunes of the post-genocide Rwanda to achieve perhaps the greatest success story of post-conflict reconstruction and nation-building. During his speech, President Kagame noted that the most important features of successful nation-building include:

- a) Conscious cultivation and sustenance of a unifying national identity since such a national identity (a sense of belonging, shared history, values, traditions and aspirations) is the foundation of a nation’s social cohesion.
- b) Establishment of credible laws and institutions of governance that formalize a government’s mandate to serve its people.
- c) Citizen’s participation in governance processes, including determining the system that best fits their needs, electing leaders democratically and playing an active role in the national decision-making processes.
- d) Economic transformation that previously disadvantaged people to experience qualitative improvement in their lives especially through national economic development.
- e) A process generated and led from within, where local efforts and commitment supersede international assistance.
- f) Stability, order, peace and national security, especially for countries emerging from conflicts, which require strong local political leadership, effective systems and efficient institutions.

President Kagame acknowledged that these core features of nation-building were lacking in Rwanda prior to the genocide in the country and that this was the root cause of the conflict that started in 1994. He argued that, “our history in the thirty years following

independence was marked by the near absence of characteristics of a functioning state, working in the interests of all its citizens”. The major problems identified by the president as having failed the country’s initial nation-building efforts include:

- Social and economic exclusion legitimized by the government between 1962 and 1994.
- Sectarianism and divisive leadership.
- Strong ethnic identities and sentiments.
- Governance by coercion.
- Widespread corruption and inequality.
- The poor status of key areas such as healthcare, education, private investment and technology as well as stagnated socio-economic transformation.
- High levels of poverty.
- Misuse of foreign aid.

President Kagame noted that, after the tragic and horrific civil conflict between the two major ethnic tribes (Tutsi and Hutu), Rwanda learnt from the failures of previous governments and initiated a new approach to nation-building. The most notable nation-building efforts that have borne considerable success in Rwanda include:

- Creating and implementing national policies that promote reconciliation, foster national unity, cement peace, pursue equitable development and maintain security.
- Building strong national institutions and laws for effective, people-led governance.
- Institutionalizing inclusive policies and politics.
- Improving national economic growth.
- Improving public service delivery.

- Decentralizing decision-making and authority to include the participation of ordinary people.
- Inculcating transparency and accountability in government.

### **2.3.3 Failures of Post-Conflict Reconstruction: The Case of Sierra Leone**

Sierra Leone is among the African nations that have had to deal with years of civil conflict and strife, and is only now recovering (Zaum 2007, pp. 36 – 47). It is possible to agree with Freeman (2008) that, “the case of Sierra Leone provides invaluable lessons for international actors involved in state-building and peace-building” (p. 1). Sierra Leone is unique in terms of its recovery from civil conflict not because it was the longest conflict (Sudan’s was), or that it led to cessation (as did that of Sudan and Eritrea), or was the most deadly (the conflicts in Rwanda and Sudan are considered the worst). Rather, Sierra Leone is unique in its failure to reconstruct the nation in the post-conflict era, despite overwhelming international support and local potential.

Between 1991 (when the civil war started) and 2002 (when it was finally officially declared over), peace was an elusive commodity in Sierra Leone (Freeman 2008, p. 1). The news during this decade is as horrific to read today as it was a decade ago. The press was awash with news of Revolutionary United Front rebels invading border towns in a series of brutal and devastating attacks. In 1999, the Lome Peace Agreement which was much like Sudan’s PAC, was signed between the warring factions in Sierra Leone, reviving hopes that the seven-year long war was coming to a close. However, renewed fighting broke out in the wake of the truce and further delayed the ceasefire until early 2002.

Of interest to the present study is that Sierra Leone attained in 1999 what Sudan has now attained - independence. The Lome Peace Agreement raised the hopes of the war-ravaged nation as well as international resolve to intervene in the conflict. According to Freeman (2008), Sierra Leone was initially praised by the international community as “a

peace-building success” yet what was attained was a fragile, unsustainable and ultimately self-destruction form of peace (p. 1). Today, Sierra Leone is among the most fragile African states despite the civil war having ended.

Scholars have posed the question of why the conflict lasted so long in Sierra Leone and why sustainable peace was never really achieved by the peace process. Sierra Leone benefitted from the largest ever UN peacekeeping mission in terms of the number of soldiers deployed to the country. Furthermore, the country received extensive foreign aid and assistance both to end the conflict and initiate reconstruction (Freeman 2008, p. 1). The UN and the UK, among other developed nations were lauded for their extensive engagement in promoting Sierra Leone’s reconstruction efforts. It was thus surprising that the country relapsed into conflict.

According to Freeman, the failed reconstruction can be traced to the fact that “the root causes of the conflict have not been resolved (and as such) the international reconstruction effort in Sierra Leone has failed to address fundamental causes of the conflict, including institutional weakness and endemic corruption and the marginalization of youth” (2008, p. 1). This concurs with Fritz and Menocal (2007) who postulate that, “many of the causes of conflict that prompted thousands of young people to join the war have still not been adequately addressed” (p. 22). This begs the question as to the causes of the Sierra Leonean conflict.

There have been many theories and arguments about what really caused the Sierra Leonean conflict. According to the report of the country’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the conflict can be traced back to poor governance, poverty and abuse of human rights. The report stated that “it was years of bad governance, endemic corruption and the denial of basic human rights that created the deplorable conditions that made conflict inevitable” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone 2005, p. 5; DFID 2010,

pp. 9 - 13). Major General Jonathon Riley of the UK government concurred, arguing that “the Revolutionary United Front began its campaign of terror in response to the abuses of the government”, However, he added that “the RUF quickly was overtaken by criminals with no political or social objective” (2010, p. 4). This suggests that the conflict started out as a social revolt against bad governance but was soon converted into a senseless war under poor leadership.

While many have attributed the Sierra Leonean conflict to the country’s huge diamond resources, a recent World Bank Study begged to differ. According to the study, the conflict was largely caused by poor governance and the failure of public institutions. The study noted that “everyone we spoke to talked of the collapse of institutions as the root cause of the civil war, not diamonds” (Hanlon 2005, p. 460). In as much as the greed for diamonds may have played a significant role in the Sierra Leonean conflict, there is broad consensus among scholars today that the core causes of the violence included “corruption and economic mismanagement, lack of opportunities for youth, and the underdevelopment of rural areas” (Baker and May 2004, p. 36).

When peace was finally restored to the country in 1999, most of these core causes of conflict were not addressed (Freeman 2008, p. 4). Post-conflict reconstruction in Sierra Leone witnessed a massive influx of foreign aid. Foreign aid agencies, including UNDP, UK DFID, UNHCR and the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone moved swiftly to assist reconstruction, reintegration, repatriation and the rehabilitation of the country (Baker and May 2004, p. 38). The UN committed more than \$16.4 billion annually, while the British government committed £100 million per year and the US more than \$45 million to facilitate the reintegration of former combatants (Freeman 2008, p. 4). According to Baker and May, the reconstruction enabled the return of more than 300,000 internally displaced people to their homes, the disarmament of more than 70,000 former combatants, local police training,

organized military restructuring, the building of schools, homes and health clinics and the facilitation of two democratic elections (Baker and May 2004, p. 38 - 42).

Yet despite these efforts, “the citizens of Sierra Leone, even in the aftermath of widespread displacement, sexual violence, and terror, did not want to rebuild their society in the image of the pre-war state, which was one of undemocratic rule, repression, and corruption” (Baker and May 2004, p. 39). Baker concludes that “the billions of dollars invested in state-building in Sierra Leone have not succeeded in addressing the root causes of the conflict and have created a crisis of disillusionment among Sierra Leoneans who hoped that the involvement of the international community would help to resolve the issues that led to a decade of civil war” (Freeman 2008, p. 5).

It is unfortunate that, to date, Sierra Leone remains a fragile African state with a high probability of the resurgence of war. The main reason for the failure of post-reconstruction efforts is that bad governance practices and systems are still common including corruption, high levels of crime, human rights abuses, economic inequalities, an ineffective and dysfunctional judiciary, poverty; high levels of unemployment among the youth and the use of controversial administrative units as the Paramount Chiefdoms. If these problems are not addressed, the causes of the violence in 1992 remain as potent as ever. This resonates with Thomas Hull, the Ambassador to Sierra Leone’s arguments in his 2006 keynote speech during the Youth for Sierra Leone Improvement Event. The ambassador noted that:

Young people everywhere have considerable anxiety about their future, and if they do not find educational and employment opportunities, they naturally despair. This leads to feelings of exclusion and resentment that in the extreme can produce lawlessness, violence, and even anarchy as Sierra Leone witnessed during your civil conflict. The conditions that exist today are some

of the same conditions the led to that conflict, and they must be addressed (Freeman 2008, p. 6).

The Sierra Leone example provides vital lessons for South Sudan. It is important that the country prioritizes the key issues that triggered the decades of war. It should be recognized that behind the clamour for the South's self-determination and self-rule were the people's expectations that independence would deliver economic, social and political progress. South Sudan must work to make these aspirations a reality if it hopes to succeed in nation-building. This will translate to improving people's health, educational and living standards, investing in infrastructure, upholding good governance, reducing unemployment, balancing resource distribution and respecting both human rights and the rule of law. If these aspirations are not met, nation-building efforts are in danger of translating into war rather than prosperity. As noted by the International Crisis Group (2004), "in the gap between reality and the theory lies war" (p. 5). For South Sudan, nation-building must be much more than creating a government and governance structures, and having a flag and anthem; rather, it should involve the search for national solutions to endemic, divisive problems.

The only difference between the then Southern Sudan region under the rule of Khartoum and the present Republic of South Sudan will be what independence delivers to the people of South Sudan that they sought for during the war. If that difference is not made clear and accepted by the people, nation-building will most probably fail as it did in Sierra Leone. It is important that nation-building efforts in South Sudan embrace the lessons of Sierra Leone and translate nation-building theory into practice, rather than going through the motions of nation-building without attaining the conflict-causing aspirations of the masses.

#### **2.3.4 Resilient African Nationalism: The Case of Eritrea**

Despotism in Eritrea is one of the less investigated issues pertaining to the political life of the country. This phenomenon is associated with the personal rule of the president-for-



life. Eritrea should be understood as a dictatorial state which was formed as a result of a 30-year war of liberation. This state rests on the cult of personality around the liberation movement leader, President Isaias Afewerki (Ogbazghi 2011, p. 5). Thus, the main peculiarity of the state is that Eritrea is ruled by a unique power which embodies a mix of the military and the sole political party. The party accords legitimacy to the president of the state by rationalizing, advocating and implementing his policies of social mobilization. According to Ogbazghi (2011), the political issues are implemented within the framework of four departments: 1) political; 2) organizational; 3) economic; and 4) cultural. These four departments concentrate absolute powers for cultural and political indoctrination, which is carried out by reference to nationalistic pride and symbols of national unity. Hence, it follows that nationalism is actualized in all areas of the political, organizational, economic, and cultural life of Eritrea.

There are several possible reasons why despotism in Eritrea is not comprehensively investigated or discussed. Firstly, the country is a typical example of personal tyranny, and thus it is impossible to achieve reliable statistical and other qualitative data concerning the real state of affairs. Secondly, with the Arab Spring, most scholars have focused their attention on the Greater Middle East countries that experienced substantial changes and shifts from non-democratic to democratic forms of governance.

South Sudan has a lot to learn from Eritrea's legendary nationalist spirit that survived even during the country's darkest times (Connell 1993, p. 48). Eritrea is among the most under-researched African nations and the few studies that are available are grossly misrepresentative of the reality. For instance, the Zimbabwean history abounds in literature on the 'peasant question' and its impact on the nationalist legacy. While the same is true of nationalism in Eritrea, very little of this history is recorded in the literature. This is

unfortunate given that Eritrea is perhaps Africa's best example of positive nationalism even in times of conflict.

According to Dorman (2003), Eritrea's history provides a rare case study of how gender issues, diaspora participation and emergent globalization have impacted on a country's concept of nationalism. Eritrean nationalism emerged after a three-decade struggle for independence beginning in early 1960s and which eventually overcame Ethiopian rule and domination. By 1991 the struggle culminated in what Dorman (2003) refers to as a "de facto independence". Liberation troops captured the Eritrean capital, Asmara, towards the close of the year and by 1993 the international community had moved in to support the formation of a new territory. The UN sponsored and supervised a national referendum in 1993, through which the international community legitimized Eritrea as a sovereign African territory (Hussein 1994).

What is of great importance to the present study is the uniqueness of Eritrea's liberation movement and the subsequent exemplary efforts at nation-building often attributed to the country's early years. Unlike any other African country emerging from liberation struggles, Eritrea displayed a deeply-seated spirit of nationalistic unity, cohesion and social amity (Doornbos 1999). Soldiers fighting for the country's independence were the key agents of positive change, investing in progressive ideals of education, good health, gender equality and infrastructure development (Markakis 1988). Rather than destroy the country's infrastructure, displace populations and annihilate available resources, as was the case in the Sudan and South Sudan wars as well as many other African conflicts, Eritrean warriors participated in building the country and safeguarding their people during the course of the war (Leonard 1988).

The soldiers were teachers and doctors; they abandoned the war occasionally to build new classrooms, declared truces with enemies when it was important to safeguard women

and children, participated in social projects while still advancing warfare and insisted on avoiding any attacks that endangered civilians (Cornell 1993). Fighters would build schools in underground hideaways, fit them with medicine and provide medical services to injured children, in order to keep the education system going even when war was raging above ground (Cornell 1993). There have been many accounts and pictures of soldiers offering medical services under the cover of forests to children and women, before launching their next attack (Kinnock 1988).

This was perhaps the world's most civilized war in history, planned and waged by a people who were first and foremost, nationalists (Leonard 1988). Dan Connell calls it a war of "hearts and minds" (Connell 1993). This is well captured by Dorman in the following extract, "the Eritrean liberation fighters were rightly celebrated for their innovativeness and resilience. Contemporaneous accounts emphasize the liberation movement's commitment to gender equality and to eliminating harmful traditional practices such as FGM" (Dorman 2003). According to Connell (1993), Eritrean liberation fighters built long-lasting and highly positive relations with local populations; instead of looting and destroying communities, they brought medicine to the sick, supported education, shared their meagre food rations and protected local resources to support impoverished communities (Donnell 1988).

Many scholars have characterized Eritrea's liberation era as simultaneously marked by war and peace, perhaps explaining why the country is under-represented in the literature on African literature as it never experienced the extremes of anarchy and violence (Connell 1993). The war did not produce the graphic horrors that most African conflicts have been known for, and even the worst of the violence carried a sense of humanity and control (Kinnock 1988). In many ways, Eritrea as a nation was formed on the basis of strong nationalism, of a kind that has not been experienced anywhere else in Africa, particularly during crisis. Some scholars have attributed this rare and progressive nationalism to the

country's success in attaining sovereignty, compared with other countries in the region that had to struggle for much longer and in more dire circumstances.

Eritrea retained its sense of nationalism during its formation and subsequent sovereignty, and never lost its sense of national unity even during pre- and post-independence conflicts. While the country confronted almost all of the usual conflict-borne problems of balancing race, class, gender, resources and power, Eritrea demonstrated a rare African case of success where nationalism presided over bi-partisan interests. Even more encouraging is that these same virtues continue to prevail in modern-day Eritrea. As argued by Dorman, "liberation and self-determination were not simply goals achieved with the EPLF's victory in 1991; they continue to structure political discourse, debate and national policies". Governance and nation-building efforts in modern-day Eritrea continue to be shaped and inspired by the deep sense of nationalism that embodied the liberation struggle.

### **2.3.5 A Never-Ending Crisis in Post-Independence: The Case of Congo**

The never-ending crisis in Congo is sustained by the on-going illegal exploitation and exportation of Congo's rich resources, such as coltan, diamonds, gold, and oil. Some scholars believe that Rwandan Genocide was the direct cause of the First Congo War, and the indirect cause of the Second Congo War. The Second Congo War is known as Africa's World War and the Great War of Africa. As noted, the Democratic Republic of Congo is abundant in rare and precious natural resources. Minerals such as tin and coltan are in huge international demand, as they are key elements in the high-tech electronic industry, being used in laptops, tablets, smartphones, and flat screen TVs.

Persistent conflict between rival warlords and militias for control of these resources, as well as for revenue they generate, has caused untold suffering and frustration among the Congolese people. This state of affairs will continue all the while the Congolese mines and transportation system are vulnerable to extortion by military and paramilitary groups. Both

the domestic criminals and the world's developed countries are interested in the never-ending crisis in Congo.

The literature on nationalism in most conflict zones in Africa is replete with disturbing examples. This is what makes Eritrea's unique nationalism one of a kind. The literature concurs that in recent years, numerous African post-independence countries have experienced massive armed civil conflicts (Bayart 1993, p. 63). However, three specific parts of Africa have been most affected (Eriksen 2005, p. 4). These include the Central Africa region, otherwise known as the Great Lakes region covering such countries as Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, the West African region covering Sierra Leone, Guinea, Liberia and Ivory Coast, and the North Eastern region of Africa otherwise known as the Horn of Africa including Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. All these countries have experienced extended internal conflicts, some of which are still in progress.

While numerous African countries have witnessed the worst aftermaths of civil conflicts, there is perhaps no better example of this tragedy than the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Bayart 1993). Congo's civil conflicts have been called "the World's worst war" (Gentleman 2012). The literature describes Congo as the ground zero of global politics explaining the many decades of civil unrest and endless war (Cole 2006). This discussion will review the international hand behind the never-ending crisis in post-independence Congo. A former colony of Belgium, Congo has often been in the news over the past four decades and as noted by Singh, "like most other countries of now a marginalized Africa it makes news only because of famines, civil wars and border clashes among neighbours" (Singh 2003). The uniqueness of Congo's conflict process is not due to the results of the war but mainly because of its protracted duration and because of the participation of numerous foreign nations with vested interests (Eriksen 2005). The country has been a leading case study of how factional

interests in a state can fuel perpetual discord in a nation at the expense of peace, and that some of these factions might be foreign powers and neighboring states, coupled with massive internal power struggles (Reno 1999). In a paper titled “Congo - A never ending litany of wars, famines, death and misery for its people”, Gajendra Singh writes that:

An October 2002 report written for the UN by an independent panel of experts, accused dozens of multinationals including Barclays Bank, De Beers and Anglo American of facilitating the plunder of Congo's wealth. This scathing account accused 85 multinational companies based in Europe, the US and South Africa of violating ethical guidelines in dealing with criminal networks which have pillaged natural resources from the war-torn country. A scramble for gold, diamonds, cobalt and copper by army officers, government officials and entrepreneurs from Congo and neighboring African countries had generated billions of dollars which found its way to mining companies and financial institutions (Singh 2003, p. 6).

The country's problems started in 1960 when the so-called Congo Crisis that lasted until 1966 broke out. This was a period of great turmoil coming soon after the country gained national independence from Belgium on 30 June 1960. Joseph Mobutu's rise to power in the young nation did not prevent a protracted period of conflict that transformed from anti-colonial struggles through secession wars (as Katanga province sought separation) to an international war (as the US engaged the Soviet Union in a Cold War proxy battle). Within a period of less than five years, more than 100,000 Congolese nationals had died in the conflict that would soon claim the lives of Dag Hammarskjöld the United Nation's Secretary General and Patrice Lumumba, in suspicious circumstances as they both sought to mediate the end of the conflict (Oliver and Atmore 1994). A month after independence, on 11 July 1960, Belgian government and business supported the south-eastern Katanga province's declaration of independence. Belgium sent more than 6 000 troops to support the secession war. Several

other regions, notably South Kasai Province, followed suit and sought self-governance. The situation escalated as the US and Soviet Union entered the conflict to protect their own interests, assassinating leaders, supporting militants and creating an ungovernable state (Cole 2006).

The following extract illustrates what happened in the country during this period:

Independence to Congo in 1960 made it the focus of cold war rivalry when Soviet leaning Patrice Lumumba became its prime minister and brought civil war to the country. In its cold war struggle against the Soviet Union, the US saw the militant nationalist Lumumba as a communist. CIA involvement in plans to kill him has been long established by senate hearings and declassified documents. In January 1961 Lumumba was tortured and then killed by Belgian troops. In a macabre aftermath, his body was exhumed by Belgian police, dismembered and dissolved in acid (Singh 2003, p. 6).

Over the years, vested international business interests, foreign governments and local separatist movements ruined every opportunity for the nation-building process. The contradictory UN peacekeeping mission and separate US and Soviet interventions fuelled the conflicts and divisions (Reno 1999). While the subsequent decades were relatively not as turmoil-ridden, the country was never really at peace. As noted by Eriksen, in the early 1990s, “the war in Congo went on for more than four years and soon after the troops led by Laurent Kabila overturned the Mobutu regime in 1997, new fighting broke out between government troops and rebels” (Eriksen 2005). Yet again, foreign nations played a part in the worsening conflict in the Congo; “the rebels were backed by Rwanda and Uganda, and the Kabila government started receiving backing from Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe” (Eriksen 2005). This meant that at least five foreign nations were openly involved in the new conflict to the point where Uganda and Rwanda soon controlled half of Congo’s sovereign

territory (Clark 2002). Uganda's involvement has been likened to the long-suffered US invasion of Vietnam (Clark 2002).

Many scholars blame international interests for the protracted war in Congo, particularly the wrongful exploitation of the country's rich resources (Collier 2000, p. 3). Some experts have argued that foreign nations, alongside neighboring states, never wanted an end to the conflicts in Congo, in order to protect their vested interests (Duffield 2001, p. 190). As long as there was conflict, foreign governments and businesses could wantonly exploit Congolese natural riches (Collier 2000, p. 3). Rather than being a war fought around internal issues, Congo's conflict has always been a consequence of the politics of war (Reno 1999, p. 63). Cole aptly observes:

The conflict in the Congo represented the confluence of many socio-historical trajectories, namely the rise of African-led political movements, the decline of imperial power, and the growth of the non-aligned movement, which upset the balance of power between the two global superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. As a result of this constellation of forces, the crisis became a hotly contested historical moment, a moment that had divergent meanings for its African, European, and American participants (Cole 2006, 26)

In recent years, there has been a measure of reconciliation and nation-building following the peace treaty signed in 2002 in Pretoria, South Africa (Singh 2003). The treaty required the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country. Experts have argued that the withdrawal of international interests has helped the country achieve a sense of peace (Duffield 2001). In 2003, a government of national unity was installed, followed by democratic elections in 2005. According to Singh, "it has been estimated that more than 3 million people have been killed in Congo, mostly by famine and displacement following civil and border wars" (Singh 2003).



Despite this initial success, divisive and intrusive international interests continue to violate the country's sovereignty and reintroduce bouts of conflicts (Ellis and Hibbou 1999). As noted by Eriksen, "the peace remains fragile, and there have been regular clashes between government forces and various militias" most of whom are backed by neighboring countries. For instance, the core section of the government of national unity recently withdrew from the government to protest the massacre of Congolese refugees by Burundi's Hutu militants. Uganda and Rwanda have often interfered in the peace process in the past decade, through government-backed militant invasions (Singh 2003). President Museveni of Uganda is perhaps the most notorious in this respect (Clark 2002). It is believed that the international community has largely failed Congo, and that the country's future nation-building process can only be guaranteed success if all vested international interests are vindicated (Lemarchand 2006). Congo asks, more than anything else, for the respect and support of its sovereignty, and the elimination of the criminal violations of some foreign interests of its internal governance (Ellis and Hibbou 1999). Unlike South Sudan, Congo's longstanding civil conflicts and slow nation-building have been blamed on external forces more than internal fractions. South Sudan should thus welcome international support in its nation-building process, but also learn from Congo that such international support should not be attached to the vested interests of various foreign powers, and that it should not take precedence over local initiatives for peace and stability.

### **2.3.6 Current African Union perspectives of the Sudanese Crisis**

As noted earlier in this chapter, the most recent news from South Sudan has been of continued hostility between the world's newest country and Sudan. Differences on how to share oil resources, contested oil-rich territories and the already-installed oil infrastructure have led to several violent conflicts, government standoffs, emergent rebel factions and increased insecurity along the border of the two nations.

The international community showed resolute awareness and involvement towards the end of 2012, following increased fears that the two countries were on the brink of war. As noted in a recent African Union (AU) report, “the Council adopted its Roadmap and Communiqué of 24 April 2012 at a time when Sudan and South Sudan were engaged in active military hostilities and were on the brink of all-out war, which threatened not only massive disruption and loss of life, but also to bankrupt and destabilize the two countries and raise a host of additional grievances between them” (African Union 2013, p. 4).

While much of these proceedings are documented by the popular press, it is important to highlight several institutional reports on the current situation. A recent report released in accordance with a directive from the African Union’s Peace and Security Council on 25 January 2013 provides perhaps the most current assessment of the situation.

The report features a communiqué issued after the 319<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Peace and Security Council held on 24 April 2012, and the 339<sup>th</sup> meeting held on 24 October 2012, as well as the 349<sup>th</sup> meeting held on 14 December 2012, all of which critically addressed outstanding matters on the resolution of peace between the Republic of South Sudan and the Republic of Sudan following the successful cessation. These issues were brought together during the African Union Summit held at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 4 - 5 January 2013.

The report highlighted the initiatives of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel for Sudan (AUHIP) which was tasked to facilitate negotiations between Sudan and South Sudan, as well as its activities and the progress of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) panel which was tasked to mediate any outstanding acrimonies between the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement North (SPLM-N) and the Government of Sudan. According to the report, Sudan-South Sudan relations have recently been very acrimonious to the point of renewed conflict. Reported military attacks along the border of the two countries prompted the UN and AU to issue a ministerial

directive on 24 April 2012, requiring the increased involvement of the AUHIP and IGAD to develop a three-month “Roadmap for implementation by Sudan and South Sudan to ease the tension between the two countries, facilitate the resumption of negotiations on post-secession relations and outstanding issues in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), and assist in the normalization of relations between the two States”.

Following the directive, the AUHIP called for a special AU Summit to facilitate negotiations between the two states represented by their Presidents from 22 – 27 September 2012, which culminated in the signing of a Cooperation Agreement and Agreements (CAA). The CAA covered the commitment of the two states to deliberate and agree on eight outstanding issues that were thought to be negatively affecting post-secession relations. These issues included:

- a) National economic relations in the post-secession period (“unconditional withdrawal of all armed forces to their side of the border”).
- b) Civilian security maintenance (each state “to cease harboring and supporting rebel groups against the other State”).
- c) Oil and transitional financial sharing arrangements.
- d) The status of the nationals of each country currently resident in the other country.
- e) Post-service benefits accruing from cessation success.
- f) Trade relations and sharing of the trade opportunities previously enjoyed by both parties.
- g) Shared banking arrangements for both countries.
- h) Agreement on border lines and border regions (activation of a 14 mile Safe Demilitarized Border Zone and necessary border security mechanisms, as well

as engagement in negotiations over the contested Abyei Area through the Abyei Joint Oversight Committee (AJOC)).

However, after the signing of the CAA, most of the outstanding issues remained unresolved. Consequently, the AU Peace and Security Council met again on 24 October and 14 December 2012, to deliberate on the AUHIP's progress in addressing the concerns raised by the CAA (African Union 2013, p. 5). In subsequent meetings of the AU, it emerged that most of the contested issues were still not implemented, mainly the resettlement of nationals, agreement on contested border areas, and the resolution of oil-related conflicts. Although the two states have continued to support the peace process, there is a distinct lack of active implementation of the resolutions arrived at through mediation. As noted by the AU, the countries have for now stepped back from the brink of war that threatened towards the close of 2012, and have taken reasonable steps in restoring relations (African Union 2013, p. 5).

However, "security tensions on the border and economic pressures in both countries remain issues of considerable concern" (African Union 2013, p. 5). According to the AU, the mutual prosperity and progressive nation-building in either state rests squarely on the prospects of the immediate and unconditional implementation of all the bilateral agreements they have signed, as well as the "establishment of security structures and the restart of oil production in South Sudan, and its export through Sudan". Merely arriving at agreements without effective implementation will not launch these countries on the road to nation-building. According to the AU, "translating the agreements into concrete reality for the benefit of their peoples requires the two States fully to invest in the effective functioning of implementation arrangements they have already adopted in the Agreements" (African Union 2013, p. 5).

The report stated that this "democratic transformation remains the urgent task of the Sudanese leadership in all its manifestations, which will continue to need Africa's

unwavering encouragement and support”. An important point is that according to the report, the AU has insisted on the speedy resolution of the outstanding issues that are thought to be reigniting hostilities between Sudan and South Sudan.

Noting the link between the two states by virtue of “immutable facts of geography and history”, the AU has highlighted that “there is no viable alternative except for the two countries to affirm these ties and develop closer, cooperative relations with each other in the economic, social, political and security spheres” (African Union 2013, p. 8).. This report provides useful insight into the commitment of the AU alongside the UN to sustain and motivate positive bilateral relations between Sudan and South Sudan.

The report also emphasizes the importance of the two countries focusing on the problems confronting their coexistence which, if left unaddressed will always threaten their individual nation-building efforts. This is particularly important for South Sudan. As the report concludes, “Africa’s youngest State, the Republic of South Sudan, is taking its first steps on the long and exciting road of nation building (but) it faces opportunities as well as dangers, as it seeks to forge itself into a nation built on democratic values, dedicated to building the best future for its citizens. It too faces the challenge of building national cohesion, as well as institutions for the tasks of separating civil administration, party and army” (African Union 2013, p. 8).

## **2.4. Prospects for South Sudan’s Future**

### **2.4.1 Resource Potential: RBV Theory Perspective**

According to Conner, the resource-based theory, or simply the resources theory was initially advanced during the 1980s (1991, pp. 121-154). The theory was revived by Jay Barney (Conner 1991, pp. 121-154). Barney’s theory sought to generate an alternative explanation for the competition advantage of business organizations in the form of a firm’s resources and capabilities rather than external market forces (Conner 1991, pp. 121-154).

Kraaijenbrink, Spender and Groen conducted a literature review of all resource-based theory research during the 20 years of the theory's existence in scholarly discourse and organizational practice (2010, pp. 349 – 372). They concluded that it has the potential to develop into a more viable competitive advantage theory, if it acquires a dynamic framework.

Jay Barney quotes Daft (1983) in defining resources in enterprise contexts. The scholar posits that, “ firm resources include all assets, capabilities, organizational processes, firm attributes, information, knowledge, etc; controlled by a firm that enable the firm to conceive of and implement strategies that improve its efficiency and effectiveness” (Daft 1983 quoted in Barney 1991, p. 101).

The resource-based theory of the firm has become a popular approach in business strategy and policy development, with a focus on the empirical implications of the theory in determining how a firm's capabilities and resources can influence its performance (Barney 1996, p. 469).

The theory was later adapted and developed into the theory of Competitive Advantage of Nations by Porter (2007). According to Kisslinger et al., when applied to nations, the resource-based theory perspective posits that a nation develops and accumulates a set of specialized resources, which are both tangible and intangible. If the nation applies these resources appropriately, it becomes easy to generate significant returns that are above average, which ultimately enable the nation to sustain its competitive advantage (2009, pp. 45 - 62). Kisslinger et al. further posit that, in cases when a nation finds it impossible to create and develop these vital resources from its internal capabilities, it often attempts to source these resources from its external environment through multilateral and bilateral trade agreements (2009, pp. 45 - 62).

Wernerfelt and Rumelt concur that, the essence of the resource-based theory is its assumption that a firm/nation's competitive advantage is primarily determined by how it

applies the set of valuable resources presently at its disposal (Rumelt 1984, pp. 557 - 558, Wernerfelt 1984, p. 172). Peteraf further argues that for a firm/nation to successfully transform its short-term competitive advantage into what he terms 'sustained competitive advantage', it must first transform its resources from being perfectly mobile into being heterogeneous (1993, p. 180).

Barney expresses this differently by noting that such a firm/nation should make sure that its valuable resources cannot be perfectly imitated or easily substituted by its competitors (Barney 1991, p. 117). Barney adds that if valuable resources are neither "substitutable without great effort" nor "perfectly imitable", the firm/nation will be able to produce above-average returns (Barney 1991, p. 117).

South Sudan is highly endowed with natural resources, incomparable in vastness with those of Sudan. However, 51% of the South Sudanese population currently lives below the poverty line of one dollar a day. Only 1% of South Sudanese households have a bank account. This state of affairs is regrettable. Fortunately, the country's resource base offers the potential for phenomenal economic growth in record time. What is required is that these resources are exploited in a competitive manner and that government prioritizes stability, democratic governance, political accountability and the equitable distribution of wealth. These preconditions will enable South Sudan to exploit its resource potential, gain a greater competitive advantage in international trade, and thus improve its citizens' quality of life.

Before these resources can be tapped and exploited, South Sudan needs to invest heavily, something that it might not be able to do at present. The international community should assist South Sudan to initiate and sustain its nation-building efforts. According to the US Department of State, South Sudan "has already received more than \$4 billion in foreign aid since 2005, largely from the U.K., U.S., Norway, and Netherlands". This aid should now be channelled into exploiting local resources. Probably due to this initial investment, the

Government of South Sudan was expecting to record a commendable 7.2% economic growth at the close of 2012 economic year. With proper resource exploitation and good governance, South Sudan can achieve a growth rate of more than 30% in five years, mainly because of its highly undeveloped economy initiating a growth curve.

Experts have noted early indications of this growth potential. For instance, just before the government halted oil production in March 2012, “South Sudan produced 75% of the former Sudan's total oil output of nearly a half million barrels per day”. The only limitation is that the government receives 98% of its revenue from oil exports which were previously channelled through two pipelines connecting the South Sudan oil fields to Port Sudan on the Red Sea where all the refineries and shipping facilities are located. Initially, Sudan and South Sudan entered into an oil-sharing agreement (in 2005) where oil revenues were to be shared on a 50-50 ratio. However, this agreement expired on 9 July 2011 when South Sudan gained independence. As such South Sudan can now focus on investing all its oil revenue once production resumes, in its nation-building priorities.

#### **2.4.2. A Unique People in Hope and Commitment**

What South Sudan has achieved is historical. Its staying power, determination and persistent drive to attain self-determination turned a near impossibility into a celebration. Fick points out that, “last January, former guerrilla fighters shed tears as they cast votes to break away from the control of the Khartoum-based north” (2011, p. 3). This is a generation of a people born into war, to parents who were themselves seeking independence. This generation has lived long enough to realize their parents’ dreams, a dream that came too late for the more than 2 million people swallowed by decades of conflict. It is not beyond the realms of reality to predict that this very spirit of the people of South Sudan will enable them to build a successful nation, despite the challenges that lie ahead.



Despite the many challenges confronting South Sudan, experts agree that there is hope for the country. Having started with a two-person government only seven years ago, South Sudan currently “runs 32 ministries, 17 commissions and 10 state-level governments” (Fick 2011, p. 17). According to Neild (2011) “international recognition is seen as key to establishing a new country” in South Sudan post-independence.

## **2.5. Chapter Summary**

This chapter critically reviewed the current body of knowledge and previous research findings on the two variables of the study, namely, the challenges and prospects of the new Republic of South Sudan. The first section introduced the concept of nation-building, reviewed the history of Sudan from its pre-independence days up to succession and provided a brief overview of the Republic of South Sudan.

The second section discussed the major challenges confronting the Republic of South Sudan in its nation-building quest. It highlighted problems such as establishing central governance, conflicts over oil revenue and resources, health and health care, human capital development, ethnic tensions and tribal animosity, the equitable distribution of wealth, jurisdiction and shared resources with the North, continued conflict and the permanent bruises of past conflicts, the culture of social dysfunction and conflict, infrastructure development and relations with the international community.

The third section reviewed the prospects for South Sudan and examined resource potential, social and political awareness in the post-crises era, recent socio-political and economic progress and the uniqueness of the South Sudan people in both hope for and commitment to a self-determined future. Finally, section four analyzed several case studies from which South Sudan could derive vital nation-building lessons. The case studies included Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Eritrea and Congo.

It emerged from the literature review that a nation is the product of the harmonious co-existence of a group of people who reach consensus on how to share resources in their territory, how to be governed, how to relate to one another and how to identify themselves, a process through which a state emerges and is able to exert its power. The contemporary political science literature has crafted fairly narrow but nonetheless distinct definitions of nation-building and state-building, with the former referring to the creation of national identity, while the latter refers to the creation of state institutions such as government.

The review established that nation-building giving or creating what the people in that state need and what helps these people to bond into a governable state. At a concrete level, nation-building requires the creation of representative symbolic paraphernalia that exude national meaning, including national languages, national days, flags, national anthems, national myths, national stadiums and national airlines. At a more abstract level, nation-building reflects the creation of a national identity through deliberate efforts to mould different ethnic groups into a single nation.

The review also established that nationalism transcends the previous contextual foundations of religion and racial dominance by particular social groupings. It has been transformed from a highly confined abstraction into many forms of expressing national sentiment. To understand some of the requirements that South Sudan must meet in the course of the nation-building process, the review highlighted some of the steps or criteria of nation-building, including international recognition, establishing central government, obtaining consensus on national borders, defining citizenship, enacting a constitution, settling on a name for the state, choosing a national flag, developing a national anthem and launching a national currency. South Sudan has already achieved most of these requirements and is thus feasible as a nation.

While many nations gained independence and succeeded in nation-building prior to the birth of South Sudan, the country embarked on this journey from a very disadvantageous position. The review found that experts believe that the country faces greater nation-building challenges than any other nation has ever faced. While there are no blueprints for a country gaining independence, experts argue that South Sudan will have to go where no other new state has gone before. Among the nation-building challenges confronting the country is the need to establish central governance structure from scratch. It was noted that, most African independent states inherited the governance structures imposed by their colonial masters; all they had to do was to improve them and adapt them to a new governance philosophy.

These nations benefitted from pre-existing formal government institutions, even though most were copies of state institutions in their colonizing Western nation. Their major task was to transform these institutions to reflect an African character. By the end of the war, any semblance of central government in South Sudan had been destroyed and the new country has to install new governance structures from the presidency to community elders.

Another challenge relates to oil resources and revenue. It is clear that oil has played and continues to play a very significant causative role in South Sudan's problems. Furthermore, South Sudan has not diversified its economy and currently derives 98% of its revenue from the petroleum industry. If the border conflict continues to escalate, oil production in the region will be affected as foreign investors will be scared away by violence.

The new country is also faced with the challenge of its people's health. South Sudan has a unique combination of the worst diseases known to humankind, with some scholars regarding the nation as stricken by a plague. The most devastating diseases common in the world's poorest places are all found in South Sudan. Even by African standards, South Sudan is an extreme case due to the combination of health threatening factors.

Another major challenge is in the development of critical human capital. It emerged from the review that the country needs to develop its human capital to run vital public services. In the short term, and despite the acute lack of skilled labor and the poor prospects for educated youths in the country, there is high demand for government jobs. In the long term, besides providing education opportunities for the nation's youth, South Sudan must change social values, traditions and perceptions of education.

The review also highlighted ethnic tension and tribal animosity as another major challenge. Unlike Sudan, South Sudan consists of many different ethnic peoples and cultures. Ethnic diversity can and should be regarded as a unique and largely positive attribute of a country. Unfortunately, this is a challenge for South Sudan, especially in trying to forge national unity, a national identity and harmonious coexistence. One of the nation-building challenges confronting South Sudan is retaining this new cohesiveness and allowing different communities to embrace peace and development, rather than violently pursuing bipartisan interests.

Equitable distribution of wealth is another major challenge facing South Sudan. The decades of conflict largely emerged from the grievances of the marginalized and oppressed populations who felt they had a claim to the national resources in their regions. It is therefore very important that South Sudan's nation-building efforts embrace the need for a more representative and democratic governance system that can override previous governance structures and facilitate cohesion in this diverse society. It will also be important to decentralize governance structures and empower local communities through capacity building and equal representation. Another challenge for the young nation is jurisdiction and boundaries versus shared resources.

Following recent events, it is questionable whether the South and the North are willing to engage in civilized dialogue in order to reach consensus and move forward in a spirit of neighbourliness.

The consequences and implications of frequent territorial conflicts are potentially very negative as South Sudan embraces its new-found freedom. The most viable explanation in the literature for the continued border conflicts between Sudan and South Sudan is shared resources. As noted previously, at the time South Sudan gained independence from Sudan, the two nations were still mutually dependent on resource exploitation. If South Sudan is to build a future as an independent nation, it must resolve its territorial conflict with Sudan.

Another challenge discussed by the review was the continued conflict and the permanent bruises of past conflicts. While South Sudan has gained the independence that lay at the heart of decades of civil conflict, the days of conflict are not yet over. Violence, ranging from hostile cattle raids to rebel battles had already claimed 2,400 lives by July 2011. Restoring hope, peace, harmony and co-existence between the formerly warring functions will not be attained by further peace talks, but by addressing the people's development needs. Only progressive social-economic development and political stability can guarantee that the animosities of the past are forgotten and that the people of South Sudan can forge a better future as a united nation. This challenge is compounded by the fact that Sudan bears the scars of the culture of social dysfunction and conflict inflicted on the country since 1955.

South Sudan is also facing the challenge of infrastructure development. The decades of war destroyed existing infrastructure, and the challenge is therefore to build, rather than increase or improve installations. Nation-building efforts will have to start with heavy investment in infrastructure. Other challenges discussed by the review included the meddlesome, hands-off and sometimes contradictory approach adopted by the international

community, few and non-influential social institutions such as religious organizations and gross gender inequalities.

With regard to South Sudan's future prospects, the review highlighted that the country is well-endowed with a high resource potential from an RBV theory perspective. With investment, prioritization, foreign aid, good governance, stability and peace as well as national commitment, South Sudan has the potential to overcome its current challenges and become a leading African economy. The review also highlighted the fact that the South Sudanese are a unique people in hope and commitment. Their struggles, suffering and perseverance through the decades of war enabled them to gain self-determination against impossible odds. This very spirit might be the competitive advantage of the state in its nation-building quest.

The last section of the literature review analyzed the case study of Eritrea, with regard to nationalism and trans-nationalism. Eritrean nationalism is a product of the 30-year struggle for self-determination and independence. This struggle has many similarities with that of the South Sudanese who persevered through decades of civil war leading to the belated independence. Furthermore, Eritrea only attained *de facto* independence in 1991, after EPLF troops invaded and overran Asmara, the capital. Just as the SPLA is celebrated to have advanced the cause of the South Sudanese, Eritrean liberation fighters are celebrated for resilience and innovativeness. The review highlighted that Eritrea finally gained international recognition in 1993 after a referendum supervised by the UN. This is similar to the referendum that led to South Sudan's secession and subsequent international recognition. South Sudan could learn from Eritrea on how to use their common struggle to ignite a lasting nationalism shared by all factions in the newly independent state.

The review also featured a case study of Zimbabwe with regard to state formation and the consolidation of self-rule. It emerged that, most of the literature on nation- and/or state-

building in Africa examines examples of conflict-ridden and warring nations such as Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan or Congo. On the other hand, Zimbabwe has found its way into this discourse, not because it is at war or has experienced serious civil conflict, but for having been what some experts refer to as a failed, self-ruling African state. Zimbabwe's greatest failure lay in trying to suppress pluralism into a homogenous nation through despotic oppression. South Sudan has a pluralist population, with numerous ethnic groups, languages, religions and cultures. The lesson to be learnt from Zimbabwe is that if embraced, different communities and their different aspirations can be focused on successful nation-building without the need to make them a homogenous people. Khartoum's greatest failure that led to the decades of war with the South was the attempt to Islamize the Christian South. South Sudan should learn to embrace rather than suppress the differences among its people. The country's new government would be ill-advised to pursue nation-building by means of coercive, hierarchical and divisive policies. Rather than seeking authoritarian homogenization, South Sudan would be better placed to pursue a nation-building approach that accepts, embraces and cements pluralism.

Another case study related to Rwanda with regard to post-independence strife. Having failed to sustain peace after gaining independence, Rwanda learned its lesson after one of the world's worst civil conflicts. Since then, the country has gained international recognition in post-conflict reconstruction and nation-building. The review highlighted the most important features of successful nation-building identified by Rwandan President, Paul Kagame in a recent speech. These include the conscious cultivation and sustenance of a unifying national identity since national identity (a sense of belonging, and shared history, values, tradition and aspirations) is the foundation of a nation's social cohesion; the establishment of credible laws and governance institutions to formalize the government's mandate to serve its people; citizens' participation in governance processes by determining the systems that best suits

their needs, democratically electing their leaders and playing an active role in the national decision-making processes; economic transformation that enables the previously disadvantaged to experience a qualitative improvement in their lives especially through national economic development; a process generated and led from within where local efforts and commitments supersede international assistance; and stability, order, peace and national security, especially for countries emerging from conflict, which requires strong local political leadership, effective systems and efficient institutions. If South Sudan were to emphasize these nation-building priorities, theirs might be a success story equal to or exceeding that of Rwanda.

The review also featured a case study of Sierra Leone with regard to failure of post-conflict reconstruction. Sierra Leone is among the African nations that have experienced years of civil conflict and strife, and is only now recovering. The case of Sierra Leone's recovery from civil conflict can provide invaluable lessons in peace-building and nation-building. Sierra Leone is unique in its failure to reconstruct the nation in the post-conflict era, despite overwhelming international support and local potential. The country is an example of how rushed, unplanned, foreign-imposed and uncommitted nation building efforts, especially those pursued regardless of the past causes of conflict can only end in failure. The only difference between the then Southern Sudan region under the rule of Khartoum and the present Republic of South Sudan will be whether or not independence delivers what the people of South Sudan sought during the war. If that difference is not made clear and accepted by the people, nation-building will most probably fail as it did in Sierra Leone.

The case study of resilient African nationalism in Eritrea argued that South Sudan has a lot to learn from Eritrea's legendary nationalism spirit that survived even during the country's darkest times, making Eritrea perhaps Africa's best example of positive nationalism even in times of conflict. The uniqueness of Eritrea's liberation movement and the



subsequent exemplary nation-building efforts during the early years of independence are unlike any other African country emerging from liberation struggles. Eritrea displayed a deeply-seated spirit of nationalistic unity, cohesion and social amity.

Eritrean soldiers fighting for the country's independence were the key agents of positive change, investing in progressive ideals of education, good health, gender equality and infrastructure development. Rather than destroy the country's infrastructure, displace its population and annihilate resources, as was the case in Sudan and South Sudan as well as many other African conflicts, Eritrean warriors participated in building the country and safeguarding their people during the war. The soldiers were teachers and doctors; they abandoned the war occasionally to build new classrooms, declared truces with enemies when it was important to safeguard women and children, participated in social projects while still advancing warfare and insisted on avoiding any attacks that endangered civilians. As such, the Eritrean conflict was perhaps the world's most civilized war, planned and waged by a people who were first and foremost nationalists. The review found that, governance and nation-building efforts in modern-day Eritrea continue to be shaped and inspired by the deep sense of nationalism that embodied the liberation struggle.

The case study on the never-ending crisis in post-independent Congo noted that, while numerous African countries have witnessed the worst aftermaths of civil conflict, there is no better example of this tragedy than the Democratic Republic of the Congo, whose civil conflicts have been called "the World's worst war" and "Africa's forever War". Vested international business interests, foreign governments and local separatist movements ruined every opportunity for nation-building. The contradictory UN peacekeeping mission and separate US and Soviet interventions further fuelled conflict and divisions. Scholars therefore blame international interests for the protracted war in Congo, particularly due to the wrongful exploitation of the country's rich resources. Unlike South Sudan, Congo's longstanding civil

conflict and slow nation-building has been blamed more on external forces than internal fractions. The case study concluded that, while South Sudan should welcome international support for its nation-building process, it can learn from Congo that such international support should not be attached to the vested interests of the various foreign powers, and that international support should not take precedence over local initiatives for peace and stability.

Each of these cases helped underscore the need for South Sudan to prioritize the resolution of current conflicts and address any area of contention that might trigger violence and civil strife. Leaving some issues unaddressed may delimit any nation-building gains in the future. The literature review also highlighted the fact that the future of South Sudan looks promising. Despite the many challenges, experts agree that there is hope for the country. Having started out with a two-person government only seven years ago, South Sudan currently has 32 ministries, 10 state-level governments and 17 commissions. The country is progressing well towards the future and there is hope that, in time, nation-building efforts will bear positive results.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **3.0 Theoretical Framework**

#### **3.1 Introduction to the Chapter**

This third chapter of this thesis outlines the theoretical framework informing and guiding the present research undertaking. Following this brief chapter introduction, the chapter presents an in-depth discussion of the two-tier theoretical approach adopted by the study and an overview of the research scenario. This is followed by an exploration of the nation-building theory and the social integration theory, the two theories used to guide and inform this study. The consensus on the use of a two-tier theoretical approach is also briefly discussed. The chapter concludes with a brief summary.

#### **3.2 Two-Tier Theoretical Approach**

A theory can be defined as a set of interrelated constructs, definitions, and propositions that present a rational view of phenomena by explaining or predicting relationships among those elements. Scholars have presented different perspectives of the use and purpose of theories in empirical research. According to Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (1990), a theory serves four distinct purposes in research. Firstly, it helps to summarize new knowledge and findings into succinct statements (Ary et al. 1990, p. 64). Furthermore, theories help to order or organize an existing body of knowledge within a particular area of study. Thirdly, theories help to clarify and ascribe a conclusive meaning to empirical findings that may have previously occurred in isolated settings. Theories can link old and new research findings and reveal conclusive meaning that is clear and straightforward. Finally, a theory can help researchers to reach a provisional explanation for the relationships between variables or events within a specified context (Ary et al. 1990, p. 64). For instance, a theory of learning can be used by a researcher to explain the relationships between the dependent

variable such as efficiency and speed of learning, and independent variables such as attitude, practice, study methods, motivation and reward.

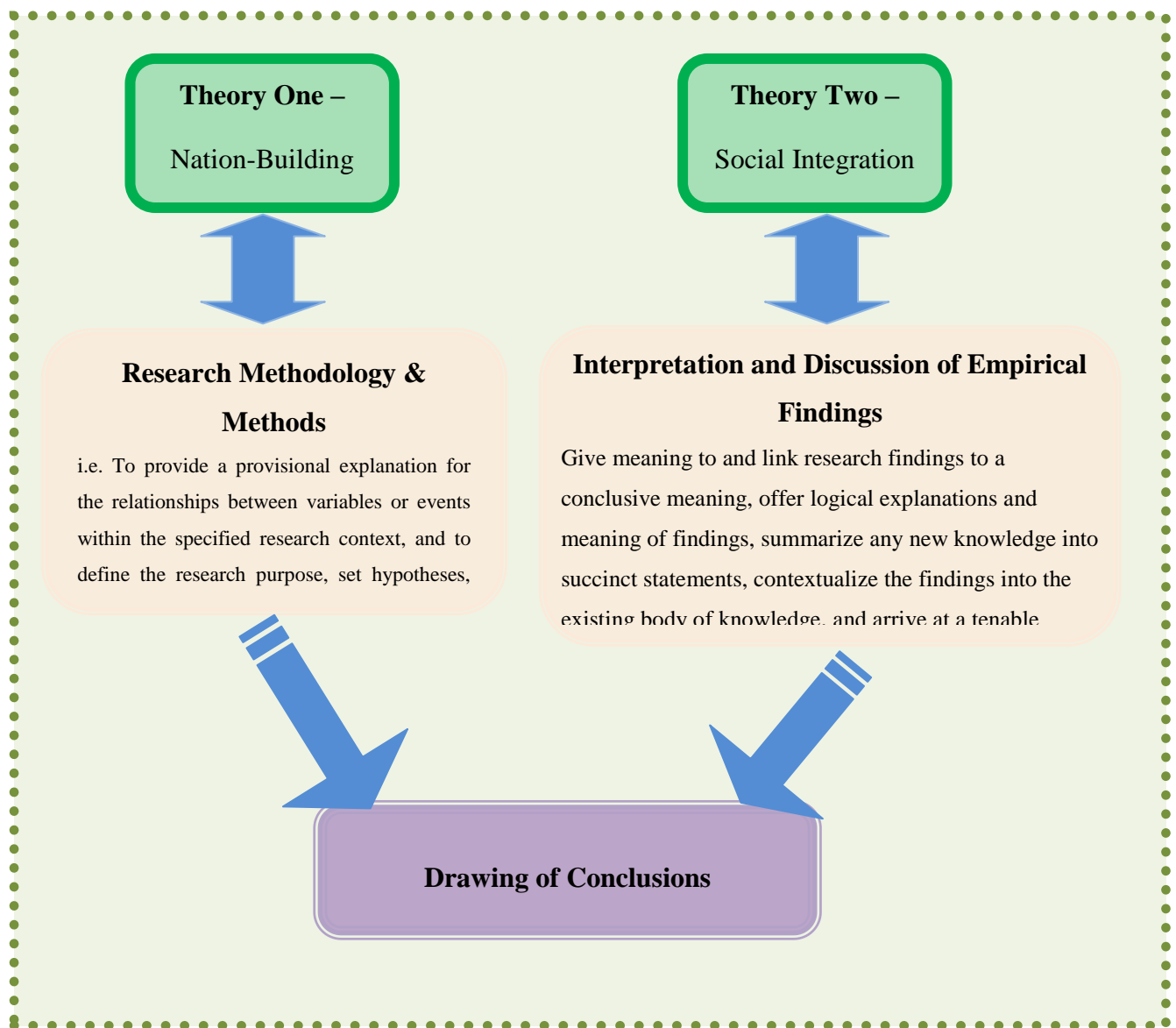
Based on this understanding of the term ‘theory’, a theoretical framework can be defined as the application of a theory within a particular study. In its most simplistic form, Camp (2001) defined a theoretical framework as a set of theoretical assumptions that explain the relationships among a set of phenomena. Warmbrod (1986) defined a theoretical framework in a more comprehensive manner as the systematic ordering of ideas about the phenomena being investigated or a systematic account of the relations among a set of variables. For his part, Creswell (1994/1997) defined a theoretical framework in a more abstract but practical manner, as the examination of discipline-based literature related to a topic and the identification of an overarching theory that explains the central assumption or proposition.

Modern research practice has emphasized the need for a theoretical framework as a mandatory component of acceptable research studies. According to Camp (2001), “reviewers for research journals and other venues for reporting research are demanding clearly articulated theoretical frameworks in manuscripts under consideration for publication or presentation”. Unfortunately, the jury is still out on what is meant by a theoretical framework in research. According to Camp (2001), after critically evaluating the theoretical literature on the relationship between research and theory, “one must conclude that there is a general lack of agreement on what is meant by theoretical framework”.

This study adopts a two-tier theoretical approach combining the insights of two distinct political science theories to provide a theoretical framework for its findings. The term ‘two-tier’ denotes the integration of two distinct theories to formulate two levels of critical data analysis. The theories were used to identify the most appropriate data collection process and the most accurate data collection strategies. Thereafter, the chosen theories were used to

discuss the findings generated from the data such that the empirical findings were evaluated with a sound theoretical foundation (Warmbrod 1986, pp. 3-8). These ensured that the empirical findings generated from the field data were applicable, practical and theoretically sound for South Sudan's nation-building process (Camp 2001, p. 4). The following figure illustrates how a two-tiered theoretical framework was used in the study.

Figure 3: A Diagram Illustrating How a Two-Tiered Theoretical Framework Was Used



It should be noted that the present study ventured into a novel area of enquiry that has not been researched previously. While numerous studies and seminal work have focused on South Sudan's unique context as the world's newest nation, as far as the researcher is aware,

none have documented and contextualized the potential challenges facing the young nation in its nation-building efforts or their impact on this process. This study undertook a comprehensive analysis of all the salient issues that could represent barriers to a successful nation-building process in South Sudan, and to contextualize these challenges within the broader perspective of their causes, drivers, consequences/impact and likely mitigation. To do this, the study had to extend the available theoretical frameworks to a novel context and by doing so, derive the most reliable applications of the relevant theories to the area of interest. In other words, the study had to choose the theories most relevant to the purpose of this study, and then seek an extended application of these theories to the novel empirical data collected and analyzed.

Researching an area that has already been researched is usually easy since there is often a voluminous body of theory to choose from, most of which has been explored in details in the literature. However, if a research study seeks to break new ground, the researcher has no literature to follow and often little theoretical foundation to guide the exercise (Warmbrod 1986, pp. 3-8). As such, in every research undertaking that ventures into a new area of enquiry, there is always a challenge to identify the ideal theory to use when choosing, modifying and optimizing the research methodology and methods. There are no precedents or critical scholarly evaluations and application of available relevant theories, and the methodological approaches they require. The researcher hopes that this undertaking, and subsequent scholarly contributions, will provide greater insight into the methodologies of investigating post-independence nation-building processes, with a specific focus on the challenges unique to each country. Hopefully, this study will add to the available theoretical insights into the process of building a new country after years of divisive conflict.

In planning and selecting the most relevant theories for the present research undertaking, the researcher considered several factors. To begin with, there is a mountain of

academic research, governmental publications, agency briefs and mass media reports on South Sudan. In the initial stages of research, the researcher found more than 780 published sources on the country's history, the war, the struggle for independence, liberation, secession, self-governance, post-independence relations and economic development. It would thus have been very easy to lose focus. Secondly, it was very difficult to select the literature sources that offered the best review of the present study's concerns. Thirdly, those sources that were relevant to the study offered far too many perspectives and biases that could not be incorporated into a single study. This meant that the study had to establish a guiding map through a review of literature, to help focus the entire research process towards a singular goal. A sound theoretical framework offered this map.

Furthermore, diversity and variability was present not only in the literature, but also in the primary data targeted and subsequently collected by the study. The potential respondents were different in terms of exposure, occupation, age, loyalties, residence, expertise, and educational background. Each question posed to these respondents was bound to solicit a data set that was too diverse, broad, and biased and impossible to analyze in a single study. There was thus a need to establish a framework that would enable the researcher to conglomerate these diverse perspectives into a single line of thought, where each respondent focused on the study's core research interests. Such a framework could offer a map to help both the researcher and the respondents to maintain focus on the pre-determined issues of investigation. Once again, a sound theoretical framework offered this map (Warmbrod 1986, pp. 3-8).

### **3.3 Nation-Building Theory**

The study of nation-building within the larger political science discourse provides a range of distinct perspectives. Of particular interest to this study is the theoretical scholarship on the emergence and development of a unified nation; unified in the sense of identity,

ideology, purpose or state machinery, to be a singular entity that can be assigned sovereignty. Elias (1972) cautions that, “one must be able to distinguish between national ideologies which make a nation appear as an unchanging and well integrated social system of great value, and the observable long term processes of integration and disintegration in the course of which tensions and struggles between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies and between established and outsider groups occur as a regular feature characteristic of the structure of these developments”. In other words, when studying the formation and establishments of nations, it is important to consider the factors, ideologies and conditions that influence the coming together and/or destruction of the elements that constitute a nation.

The term ‘nation-building’ has developed as a normative concept that denotes different things to different people under different circumstances. James Dobbins (2003) defined nation building as the “use of armed force in the aftermath of a conflict to underpin an enduring transition to democracy”. A new conceptualization of nation-building perceives it as a deliberated effort to establish cohesiveness and social harmony. According to Stephenson (2005), “the latest conceptualization is essentially that nation-building programs are those in which dysfunctional or unstable or "failed states" or economies are given assistance in the development of governmental infrastructure, civil society, dispute resolution mechanisms, as well as economic assistance, in order to increase stability” (Stephenson 2005).

This study was particularly interested in nation-building within the context of a young African nation that has just attained independence and self-governance, with a five-decade history of civil war, and whose pluralist citizenry are yet to attain the strong ideological, cultural, political and economic ties that bind a strong democratic nation together. This is a very different context from the one assumed by one of Europe's most outstanding contemporary political scientists, Bartolini (2005), in considering the concept of nation-



building. Bartolini's perspective on nation-building is a radical theoretical assertion of the integration of European nation states, which he perceives as a modern configuration of a state without a nation-building process, in other words, a structure without the substance of a nation.

Since this study focuses on South Sudan, it is primarily concerned with the form of nation-building applicable in Africa and other third world nations that recently gained independence from the European colonizers. More specifically, within the broader literature on post-independence nation-building among African states, it focuses on nation-building trends since 1990. This era has been noted as one characterized by gigantic nation-building strides for some countries, and the tragic destruction of initial successes in others (Chabal and Jean-Pascal 1999).

As noted by Eriksen (2001), "in the early 1990s, there was an optimism about Africa not seen since the early years of independence, (because) the end of the Cold War, economic liberalization, the introduction of democracy in a number of countries and the fall of apartheid in South Africa generated widespread talk of an African renaissance, ... in the last few years, however, the hopes of an African renaissance seem again to have faded" as most of the states previously thought to have succeeded in nation building have simultaneously fallen to the curse of civil upheavals and war (Eriksen 2001, pp. 289-309).

One of the reasons offered by the literature as to why the African continent has largely failed to sustain nation-building is sectarian conflicts between those who hold state power and thus command state resources, and those who have no access to state resources. Nation-building relies on collective responsibility to work within legitimate authority in advancing self and socially acceptable goals. This means that the society allows various representatives to use state resources for the good of all, in an equitable, fair and just manner. This is where African states have failed and consequently fallen prey to internal conflicts that

are detrimental to nation-building. As noted by Chabal and Daloz (1999), African states often depend on the patronage and distribution of political spoils as their only way of maintaining the legitimacy of their government structure.

This means that “the legitimacy of the African elite, such as it is, derives from their ability to nourish the clientele on which their power rests... (and) it is therefore imperative for them to exploit government resources for patrimonial purposes” (Chabal and Daloz 1999). When the political survival of a state’s officers depends on the distribution of spoils, governing policies that may reduce these officers’ access to national resources are often rejected, triggering a war between social groups in their attempt to gain such distributive power. This explains the genesis, development and subsequent success of South Sudan’s cessation from the North, following their grievances at being excluded from national resources despite hosting substantial national resources.

The nation-building theory gained popularity in the 1950s and 1960s among prominent American political scientists. Notable proponents of this theory included Charles Tilly, Karl Deutsch and Reinhard Bendix. The theory was primarily used to describe the processes and challenges of national consolidation and integration that resulted in the establishment of the modern nation state as opposed to traditional forms of statehood such as dynasty, feudalism, church state and empire.

According to Gellner (1983), the term ‘nation building’ was coined by political scientists to refer to the strategies that are usually initiated by state leaders as well as the unplanned social changes experienced in countries in their struggle to develop into cohesive societies. The principal assumptions of the nation-building theory lies in its belief that past societies failed precisely because they lacked the concept of ‘nation’ and ‘nationhood.’ It also presumes that national identity has grave importance in nation-building, particularly by

avoiding the mechanical functions of past feudal and dynastic societies and empires of the past.

Bendix (1977) agrees that, the concept of nation-building emerged from the school of American political scientists that dominated the literature in the 1950s. The term was an attempt “to describe the greater integration of state and society, as citizenship brought loyalty to the modern nation-state with it” (Bendix 1977). While several other scholars have approached the concept of nation-building from the perspective of national integration and social participation (such as Deutsch 1963), most have approached this concept from the perspective of institutionalizing democracy and self-rule.

For Bendix (1977), nation-building denotes an expansion of a country’s citizenship that gives citizens the right and ability to democratically participate in the political governance of their state. This invokes the need to build democratic institutions, agencies and governance processes that serve the public’s wishes, needs and aspirations. This concurs with perhaps the best definition of nation-building accessed for the present study that postulates that, nation-building is “the development of behaviours, values, language, institutions, and physical structures that elucidate history and culture, concretize and protect the present, and insure the future identity and independence of the nation” (Fukuyama 2006, p. 17).

However, it is important to note that nation-building requires more than formal institutions of democratic governance, and should include the building an underlying culture that recognizes, respects and upholds the sanctity of social participation, protects people’s unique identities and creates a unified social front from within and outside these institutions (Weber 1946, p. 48).

This prompts the consideration of nation-building from the perspective of national identity. Nation-building can be understood as a state-led process to evoke national identity in order to promote unity and social cohesion within the state (Fritz 2008, pp. 20-24). Most

often this is done with the aim of enhancing the legitimacy, stability and capacity of state institutions.

Although nation-building is sometimes used synonymously with ‘state-building’, traditional state-building concerns the establishment or strengthening of state institutions and political systems while nation-building emphasizes the role of communities and social identities within this process (Fritz and Menocal 2007, pp. 47-48). Simply put, nation-building “describes the process whereby the inhabitants of a state’s territory come to be *loyal* citizens of that state” (Bloom 1990, p. 55). Indeed, states pursue nation-building programs in light of the advantages derived from a national community which identifies more closely with the values and goals of the state. State-building is an inherently violent and conflict-ridden process (Fritz and Menocal 2007, pp. 47-48).

New traditions and rules of organization are implemented by new political and economic elites. These developments may exist within an environment of heightened grievances as well as expectations (Fritz 2008). However, the existence of a cohesive national consciousness encourages cooperation with and participation in state institutions, enhancing the successful functioning of the state. Citizens are more likely to peacefully acknowledge the authority of the state and make sacrifices for “the good of the nation”, such as paying taxes or submitting to military conscription, when they believe that the state is acting on behalf of a national community of which they are a part (Eaton 2002). From the perspective of political and economic elites concerned with internal state control, “it is advantageous to evoke a common identification and then to possess a monopoly of power in terms of manipulating the symbols of that identity” (Bloom 1990, p. 51). Thus, the state’s role as the protector of national identity promotes both the legitimacy of and loyalty to the state. From a more liberal perspective, a shared national identity encourages “mutual trust” among citizens, which “makes it more likely that they will be able to solve collective-action problems, to support

redistributive principles of justice, and to practice deliberative forms of democracy” (Miller 1995, p. 98).

Many proponents of the state-building theory concur that the traditional states of the pre-modern era were comprised of an aloof structure of state controlling, isolated communities bonded together by parochial cultures. In this context, the primary role of the pre-modern state structures was simply to collect taxes and maintain order. As a result of gradual change, the subjects of these dynastic, feudal, church, and empires state systems eventually became citizens and the parochial cultures either lost their significance or were superseded by the larger state loyalty (Sutherland 2005, p. 185-202). When applied in the context of South Sudan and other African countries undergoing the transition to independence, it is imperative to take into consideration the notion of national sentiments or the sense of belongingness on the part of citizens as opposed to the former functions of the previous societies whose main purpose was to maintain order and collect taxes.

In other words, nation-building theory provides us with a unique opportunity to analyze what went wrong in previous societies that failed (Sutherland 2005, p. 185-202). Important to the present discussion are the preconditions of nation-building, or the factors that determine the success of a nation-building process (Bendix 1996, p. 72). Scholars have identified numerous pre-conditions that every nation-building process should meet, including national identity, legitimate government, collective revenue generation, the legal structure and enforcement mechanisms, the economic structure and regulation, among others (Bendix 1996, p. 73). For the purpose of the present study, these conditions are best reviewed in the form of a developmental process.

The theory of nation-building describes a number of phases that are identical to the current sequence of events experienced by the Republic of South Sudan. For example, the

initial phase of nation-building is widely thought by theorists to result in cultural and economic cohesion, particularly at the elite level.

Furthermore, according to these theorists, the second phase brings the masses of the general population into the general system through their enlistment in the army, and enrolment in schools and by promoting media freedom, which eventually allow the elites to interact with the periphery populations, resulting in the development of a cohesive society with a sense of state identity (Smith 1986, pp. 14-53).

The third phase requires the ordinary masses to actively participate in their territorial political system, while the final phase involves the expansion of the state apparatus, economic equalization and the provision of public welfare services. This theory was applicable to the situation witnessed in Europe during the Middle Ages until the French Revolution and today most African countries, including South Sudan are experiencing the same challenges relating to building a cohesive nation (Gellner 1983, pp. 14-53). There are, however, a few fundamental flaws in this theory, particularly with regard to the confusion about the use of the term 'nation' which can sometimes be misleading when used to refer to cultural groups (Sutherland 2005, pp. 185-202).

Of importance to note is that the current nation-building theory relies heavily on the ideological identification of a people and their mutual existence (inter-relationships) and how such people can come to collectively share an identity, philosophy and a belonging (Berger 2003). Unless a people can share a collective ideology, nation-building can never occur because "ideology has been described as the key mechanism of rule by consent" (Fairclough 1989, p. 42). This is particularly true for pluralist societies where different social groups need to come together and decide on their collective national identity, which in most cases narrows down to sacrificing individual identities for the larger national identity (Brown 2000, pp. 25-71). For example, ethnic groups are required to accept a singular identity that brings them

together in a collective body (Brass 1991, p. 45). In Billing's words, "the battle for hegemony, which accompanies the creation of states, is reflected in the power to define language" (Billig 1995, p. 32).

Consequently, conceptualizing recent empirical data from the perspective of concentric circles of nationalist ideology provides a better understanding of contemporary nationalism, mainly because the ideological approach departs significantly from the much criticized classical stance on nationalism theory proposed by modernists such as Gellner (1964), as well as such ethno-symbolists and primordialists such as Smith (1986). This new approach promotes an understanding of nation-building from a universal perspective that can then be characterized, standardized and tested based on the central ideology that binds the various parties together. According to Stephenson (2005), modern "nation-building generally assumes that someone or something is doing the building intentionally".

Several scholars, most notably Brass (1991), Keating (2001) and Breuilly (1993), have argued that nationalistic ideology is the core of modern nation-building theory. The ideology-based conceptualization of nation-building departs from the tradition of conceiving nationalism as a product of certain causative factors thought to trigger nationalist movements such as war.

The understanding of nationalism embraced by the present study is not based on the need to explain the genesis of nationalism based on contextual phenomenon, but rather on the interpretation of nation-building as a deliberate ideological construct. Brown's understanding of contemporary nationalism is driven by movements, political parties and sovereign states. These agencies mobilize people to nationalistic endeavours within environmental contexts that differ significantly from the factors previously thought to be responsible for triggering the rise of nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly those advanced by scholars such as Gellner (1964 1983) and Nairn (1981). Compared with the modern understanding of nation

building as an ideological construct (adopted by 21<sup>st</sup> century theorists), traditional factor-based approaches were very limited in the manner in which they studied the nature, intensity and impacts of nationhood.

Furthermore, when nationalism is conceptualized as an ideological construct, it is easy to explain the differences in the processes and success rates among different nations since, as argued by Mylonas (2007), contemporary theory “accounts for the variation in nation-building policies”. As such nations can differ in the level of their nation-building success based on the policies they adopt and how well these policies are implemented. This is very important, particularly in the inclusion of all parties in the nationalist ideology, including minority groups. Modern nation-building is based on a collective ideology shared across social groups without discrimination or preferential treatment, unlike the ‘majority rules’ assumptions of previous nationalist theories. As noted by Mylonas (2007), “without a theory that accounts for variation in state-planned policies towards noncore groups we cannot have a complete theory of nation-building”.

### **3.4 Social Integration Theory**

People, things and places have an identity or an identifier, often one that goes beyond mere names. Identity may reflect a unique character, function, role, trait, uniqueness or even a description, whose meaning is collectively determined by its context. Focusing on people, identity refers to the social meaning attached to a person or a people. As argued by Bornman (2003), identity is the social construction or concept through which a person acquires meaning within a society and gains a sense of belonging to a particular society. This is equally true for a person, community, country or a multi-national conglomeration. Identity expresses the belonging of a person to a given social context, what defines his or her relationship to that context, and ultimately what validates that sense of belongingness



between the subject and a given social context. This is because “identities may exist within personal, sub-national, national as well as supra-national spheres” (Bornman 2003, p. 24).

A good example of this is a man born in Sudan about two decades ago. Such a man has a personal identity that differentiates him from his peers, differentiates his age group, distinguishes him as a southerner or a northerner, distinguishes his tribe from the many other tribes in the country, distinguishes him as Christian or a Muslim, and an identity that distinguishes him as a Sudanese and as an African. In these layers, the concept of identity provides a varied level of meaning that can only be interpreted from a social perspective and within specific social contexts. This means that, while at some level identity may be a personal thing, it only gains meaning within a social context and with other members of the same society (Bornman 2003, p. 25).

For example, a Southern Sudan (now South Sudan) identity only gains meaning when contrasted with Northern Sudan (now Sudan). Identity, particularly social identity, is often a collective endeavor. The term ‘collective identity’ refers to the “an individual’s cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution” (Polletta & Jasper 2001 p. 285). While collective social identity can exist at a variety of levels ranging from the personal, through to national and supra national spheres (Bornman, 2003), the present study was merely interested in national identity.

The collective brand of social identity that binds diverse peoples into one nation is referred to as the national identity or the nationality. Oommen (1997), conceptualizes nationality as a “collective identity which the people of a nation acquire by identifying with that nation”. Using Bond’s conceptualization, national identity is the ties of belongingness that members share with a nation. Phrased in a better way, national identity is the brand or level of collective identity that grants individuals a sense of belonging to a particular territory, heritage and/or political context on a ‘national’ scale. In the words of Dieckhoff and

Gutierrez (2001), national identity “makes people aware of themselves as a unique collectivity conscious and protective of their historical possessions such as territory and culture”.

The social integration theory posits that a belonged of a particular entity is not merely a person who was born there. Belonging is a matter of personal feeling and bonding in relation to the entity in question. Social integration is the facet of minority groups, underprivileged segments of the society and refugees, and is thus not restricted to the territory of birth. The theory of social integration provides that a person must attain proficiency in a recognized common language of the society, and accept the laws and moral norms of the society in order to fulfil the mission of social integration (Rubin 2012). This means that every individual may be integrated into a foreign society if he or she succeeds in fulfilling the aforesaid requirements of social integration. Furthermore, proponents of social integration maintain that the theory of social integration does not require the assimilation of people; nor does it require individuals to give up all of their cultural views (Rubin 2012).

Nonetheless, social integration may require adjusting some aspects of personal behaviour, outlook, and culture which are inconsistent with the values and laws of the society to be integrated into (Rubin 2012). In this light, it is possible to infer that identity is not something which is granted. Social identity is a twofold phenomenon. On the one hand, it is acquired by personal deeds. On the other, social identity is a quality which is imposed by society on those members who have succeeded in fulfilling the aforementioned requirements of social identity.

The foregoing conceptualization infers that a group of people can be integrated into a territorial, historical and/or political social context that grants them a singular identity at the national level. It is in understanding that the notion of social integration becomes relevant. Social integration denotes a scenario where distinct groups of people are inducted into a

singular society. In sociology, social integration has focused on the inclusion of minority social groups as after such as refugees, lower social classes, side-lined communities, and ethnic minorities into the mainstream of society. This adoption process may require a certain level of education, proficiency in a certain language, subscription a certain religion, or agreement to abide by given common values, so that the hitherto outsiders of the mainstream society can gain admittance to the identity prescribed by those within the mainstream society. This acquisition process is regarded as social integration; it allows previously disintegrated portions of a society to forge a unified national identity regardless of how many unique subgroups comprise a given nation. Social integration is the opposite of social differentiation. As Blau (1960) explains,

Persons interested in becoming integrated members of a group are under pressure to impress the other members that they would make attractive associates, but the resulting competition for popularity gives rise to defensive tactics that block social integration. A member who can provide valued services to the others forces them to give up their defensive tendencies and manifest their attraction to him; the process in which his services are exchanged for their respect and defense gives rise to social differentiation. Alternatively, one who demonstrates his approachability obviates the need for the defensiveness of other and thus frees them to express their feeling of attraction to him; the process in which his disclaimer of super ordinate status is exchanged for their acceptance gives rise to social integration (Blau 1960, p. 545).

In her highly cited paper, Vida Beresnevieiute (2003) focused on the key and fundamental concepts of the theory of social integration in comparison with the theories of social exclusion, social participation and social capital. The scholar sought to identify the

“possible resources that determine different integration strategies or adaptation routes in different groups” within the context of the cultural and social status given to various ethnic minority groups. Important for the present study is her conclusion that, “social integration indicates principles by which individuals are bound to each other in the social space and it refers to relations among the actors, i.e. how the actors (agents) accept social rules (and that) integration of a social system means the reciprocal interaction of segments of a certain social structure” (Beresnevieiute 2003, p. 2).

While the newly-admitted populations and social groups are not necessarily assimilated into the mainstream society to the point of losing their unique identity, social integration demands that the new recruits sacrifice some of their culture, heritage and political inclinations, if these are found to be inconsistent with the values and norms of the mainstream society (Rubin et al. 2012, pp. 498-505). The social integration theory holds that a tolerant and open society allows and even facilitates minority social groups to earn and enjoy full access to the rights, privileges, opportunities and status available to other members of the mainstream society (Rubin 2012).

However, not many societies are perfectly open and tolerant and the frustrations arising from poor integration have been related by empirical findings to regrettable social outcomes such as suicide and social violence (Masumura 1977, pp. 251-269). This scenario was the genesis of Durkheim’s theory of social integration which states that “the lack of positive social interaction and acceptance causes negative consequences to an individual, family, or community, (and that) improper social integration can result to negative consequences such as suicide and the people mostly affected are parents and spouses and teenagers are lately being affected too” (Masumura 1977, pp. 252).

The negative impacts of poor social integration have found to cause mental illnesses and disability (Ware et al. 2008. pp. 27-33). In ideal societies, integration should work within social groups and between social groups, until there is social integration at the national level.

### **3.5 Theoretical Approach for the Study**

The challenges currently confronting South Sudan are not new to Africa. Several states on the continent have experienced armed conflict, economic marginalization and underdevelopment. In West Africa, the regions particularly affected include Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Guinea and Liberia. In the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan and Somalia have been affected, while countries impacted in the Great Lakes region are Uganda, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi and Angola.

The case of Liberia eloquently demonstrates the similarities with South Sudan. Liberian armed conflict was primarily caused by the ‘ethnicization’ of the country’s politics when Samuel Doe took power in 1980 after a bloody military coup. The marginalized ethnic groups in Liberia experienced the same struggle as the South Sudanese as armed conflict was the result of the demands and efforts of long-marginalized ethnic groups. Armed conflict in Uganda and Angola can be attributed to the same factors. The primary cause of armed conflict in most African countries can therefore be attributed to the marginalization of ethnic groups which is exacerbated by the colonial character of most countries in the region. A number of theories have been put forward by scholars to understand the challenges of nation-building in African countries. This study will use the theories of nation-building and social integration to explain the challenges confronting state formation in South Sudan.

In the wake of the liberal movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, various views have been developed regarding national integration. One school of thought argues that historically, a major challenge to building cohesive states has been the dissolution of linguistic and cultural minorities and their consequent absorption into the larger national culture (Durkheim 1997).

Before the individuals belonging to these groups are effectively amalgamated and assimilated, the nation is bound to experience challenges such as ethnic tensions, tribal conflicts, and the economic and political marginalization of particular communities (Cohen, and Syme 1985). The social integration theory presupposes that cultural amalgamation is the key to peaceful state transition. In addition, it posits the impregnability of ethnic conflicts, especially in the case of South Sudan where ethnic minorities are continually marginalized (Cohen, and Syme 1985).

These principal assumptions are the very challenges confronting the transition in South Sudan. Only after the complete assimilation of the various ethnic groups into the larger society of South Sudan will these challenges be effectively tackled. An alternative and opposing view in this theory is the argument that cultural diversity is a blessing to nations on the verge of nation-building. Proponents of this view suggest that diversity helps safeguard against tyranny by balancing the interests of the various groups. The nation-building and social integration theories are related in many ways. For example, both are based on the belief that the establishment of a cohesive nation with equal opportunities for all the social groups is very possible even in situations such as those currently faced by South Sudan. The major weakness of social integration theory is that it does not effectively explain the concept of nationalism and an integrated model that incorporates both theories is therefore required.

An important question in this context is: are the theories of nation-building and social integration relevant to contemporary non-western societies? This question is partly answered by the belief that all human societies are bound to experience the same developmental stages; this has been demonstrated in modern times by the recent Arab Spring where people began to demand more freedom and a voice in how they are being governed. During the 1960s, when most of the African countries were gaining independence, the assumptions underlying these theories were prominent place in debates on the challenges they faced. Consequently, the two

theories are still relevant and are now being used to shed more light on the potential challenges that South Sudan currently faces in its transition from autonomy to independence.

This study formulated a theoretical approach by integrating two sociological theories (social integration and nation-building), to support an argument. At the outset, this study holds that social integration is an important foundation for any nation-building process, and that it is the glue that binds nation-building efforts. According to Ware et al. (2008), social integration is “a process through which individuals ... develop and increasingly exercise capacities for interpersonal connectedness and citizenship” (Ware et al. 2008, p. 28). This means that countries can indeed employ positive social integration to build the national identity of their people, something that is of immense significance to the present study. In the words of Ware et al., “capacities for social integration can be effectively developed as part of the everyday routines ... until eventually, the process shifts from development to the exercise of capacities and to participation as full citizens in the social world .... (Ware et al. 2008, p. 27)

Since “social integration only prevails in a group if bonds of attraction unite its members”, then, when building a nation, it is imperative that the process begins with building a strong national identity (Blau 1960). This concurs with the argument presented in the previous section on the need to establish national institutions of democratic governance as the pillars of nation-building.

The argument postulates that, nation-building requires more than merely producing formal institutions of democratic governance, and should include the construction of an underlying culture that recognizes, respects and upholds the sanctity of social participation, protects people’s unique identities and creates a unified social front from within and outside these institutions (Weber 1946). This argument thus supports the notion of social integration from a national front, and, of relevance for the present study, elaborates on why the theories

of nation-building and social integration were chosen as the theoretical foundations of the study.

### **3.6 Chapter Summary**

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework that informed and guided the present research undertaking. It presented an in-depth discussion on the two-tier theoretical approach adopted by the present study and an overview of the research scenario in this undertaking. This was followed by an exploration of the nation-building theory, and the social integration theory, the two theories used to guide and inform this study.

Thereafter, the chapter discussed the consensus arrived at in the use of a two-tier theoretical approach. The study adopted a two-tier theoretical approach combining the insights of two distinct political science theories in order to provide a theoretical framework for its findings. The term ‘two-tier’ denotes the integration of two distinct theories to formulate two levels of critical data analysis.

The theories were used to identify the most appropriate data collection process and the most accurate data collection strategies. Thereafter, they were used to discuss the findings generated from the data such that the empirical findings were evaluated with a sound theoretical foundation. This ensured that the empirical findings generated by the field data, were applicable to, practical and theoretically sound in relation to South Sudan’s nation-building process. There was no ready-made theoretical framework that could perfectly suit the purpose of this study; as such, the study had to extend the available theoretical frameworks to a novel context and by so doing derive the most reliable applications of the relevant theories to the area of interest.

In other words, the study had to choose the most relevant theories for the purpose of this study, and then seek an extended application of these theories to the novel empirical data it collected and analyzed. Consequently, this study formulated a theoretical approach by



integrating two sociological theories (social integration and nation-building), to support an argument. At the outset, this study holds that social integration is an important foundation for any nation-building process, and that social integration is the glue that binds nation-building efforts. This stance thus supports the notion of social integration from a national front, and, of relevance to the present study, elaborates why the theories of nation-building and social integration were chosen as the theoretical foundations of the study.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **4.0 Research Methodology**

#### **4.1 Chapter Introduction**

This chapter presents the research methodology adopted by the study. It reviews the study's research questions, and describes its research design. The next section discusses the primary research strategies used by this study, including an identification of the target population, the selected sampling procedure, sample characteristics and sample size, the primary data collection instruments and instrumentation strategies, and the primary data analysis tools and strategies. This is followed by a description of the secondary research strategies, incorporating a discussion of the justification for the secondary research, the secondary data search criteria and the secondary data analysis process.

#### **4.2 Review of Research Questions**

As noted, this study examines recent national and international events in the making of the world's youngest country, South Sudan, grounding the discussion on the nation-building theory, to provide case study analysis of other African and Asian nations that have undergone similar or near-similar processes, in order to conduct an empirical primary data investigation that identifies the challenges that the country faces in its nation-building quest; to reflect on South Sudan's future, and finally, to make literature-based recommendations on how to tackle such challenges, and by so doing chart the way forward for this young, troubled, yet promising nation. Furthermore, the study was a fundamental research exercise aimed at increasing understanding of South Sudan's nation-building process by identifying and discussing the challenges confronting this process, without any attempt at present to provide solutions for existing problems.

In determining the research methodology appropriate for the study, the researcher was interested in providing a literature and evidence-based discussion of South Sudan's nation-

building task, detailing the social, economic and political challenges confronting the nation in its transition from autonomy to independence, and providing recommendations founded on a critical overview of international case studies, the nation-building theory, and the renewed role of the international community. Towards this end, the study posed five research questions. The chosen research methodology and methods were specifically adopted based on their ability to generate satisfactory answers to each of these five research questions. The first research question required that the study review the successes and failures of other equivalent and/or near-equivalent countries that have previously undergone the same nation-building process after independence, and apply the lessons relevant to South Sudan's nation-building efforts. The second research question required that the study provide an overview of the nation-building theory and how it applies to South Sudan from the perspective of the literature.

The third research question mandated the study to empirically investigate the social, economic and political challenges currently facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts, as it transits from a bloody autonomy to a peaceful independence. The fourth research question required the study to explore the role of the international community in ensuring that perpetual peace and development prevails in the South Sudan region post- independence. Finally, the fifth research question required the study to make recommendations based on its findings that could help the new South Sudan government, the international community, the people of South Sudan and other stakeholders, to tackle current and future nation-building challenges, and by so doing chart the way forward for this young, troubled, yet promising nation. The subsequent sections of this chapter focus on the research methodology and methods chosen as the most appropriate to generate reliable and accurate answers to these research questions.

### 4.3 Research Design

This research utilizes a flexible (qualitative) research design. Laws (2003) defines a research design as the way of planning research to collect the most relevant data in a proper way in order to conduct an effective analysis of the data in the final analysis (p. 459).

Laws (2003) add that, a research design must always correspond with the practical objectives of the research, because a research design is more of a procedural format than an academic exercise (p. 78). The research design took into consideration that the practical objective of the present study is the provision of comprehensive answers to a series of research questions in order to apply the findings to nation-building in South Sudan.

Robson (2002) distinguishes between two types of research design: 1) flexible; and 2) fixed. The former, also known as qualitative research design implies a plan of methodological procedures directed at the flexible application of knowledge and skills which can be altered or evolved while the project is still underway. In contrast, the latter, also known as quantitative research design is always pre-planned in detail and tolerates no significant changes in either research procedures or research instruments.

Robson (2002) explains that flexible research designs are more general and abstract from the perspective of initial planning, whereas fixed research designs are more precise and scrupulous. In contrast to fixed research designs, flexible research designs accentuate the scope of research in line with the research steps. This is because the details and characteristics of flexible research designs are dependent on the initial results. The initial findings influence the specifics of the subsequent qualitative data collection methods. This study aims to provide a literature and evidence-based discussion of South Sudan's nation-building task, detailing the social, economic and political challenges facing the nation in its transition from autonomy to independence, and to provide recommendations founded on a

critical overview of international case studies, the nation-building theory, and the renewed role of the international community.

Focusing specifically on the national challenges facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts now that it has gained independence from the North, the study undertook a critical examination of the historical, institutional, political, cultural, social and economic backdrop on which South Sudan's nation-building task must be constructed after nearly 50 years of struggle and marginalization. This called for a detailed synthesis of reliable literature alongside reliable expert opinion on South Sudan's nation-building challenges.

The study adopted a flexible research design, in other words, a qualitative research design, with a descriptive research approach. A qualitative research design optimizes the strengths of each approach while at the same time minimizing its potential weaknesses. As noted by de Vaus (2001), "the function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible".

This research design was chosen to enable the researcher to generate reliable answers to the five research questions posed by the study, and in so doing serve the overriding purpose of the research undertaking. The descriptive methodological approach was chosen primarily because most of the data generated for and analyzed by the study described the nation-building challenges currently facing South Sudan (Maykut, & Morehouse 1994). This methodology enabled the researcher to identify, describe and discuss these problems in detail, thus fulfilling the study's objectives. The researcher decided to employ only qualitative data collection methods in order to achieve deep comprehension of the issues in question. As noted by Fossey et al. (2003), "sound research requires a systematic and rigorous approach to the design and implementation of the study, the collection and analysis of data, and the interpretation and reporting of findings (and) particular methods or procedures in and of themselves, however, are insufficient to ensure the quality of research".

On the one hand, qualitative research provides an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon by exploring the reasons behind it (the how and the why) as opposed to the relatively numerical data of quantitative research (Denzin, and Lincoln 1998). This is because “whatever the focus, qualitative research should be concerned with interpretation of subjective meaning, description of social context and the privileging of lay knowledge” (Fossey et al. 2003, p. 723). The present study hoped to gain greater understanding of the current challenges facing South Sudan’s nation-building efforts and the qualitative approach was appropriate in achieving this end (Norman 1994). The major strength of qualitative studies is that they enable an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon as well as the ability to explain why and how a phenomenon occurs within a particular social context (Buston et al. 1998).

However, such studies are open to significant bias and validity concerns, which can be easily overcome by incorporating a complementary qualitative research approach. According to Fossey et al. (2003), “qualitative research aims to address questions concerned with developing an understanding of the meaning and experience dimensions of humans’ lives and social worlds” (pp. 717-732). The qualitative component of the research design adopted by the study had three vital subcomponents, namely, qualitative case studies of equivalent nations with a historical post-conflict nation-building process, a qualitative literature review, and qualitative unstructured interviews.

As far as the qualitative literature review is concerned, the present research rests on a reconsideration and re-evaluation of past academic publications, focusing on the qualitative data collected by previous authors (Marczyk et al. 2010). The main idea of this literature review is to critically evaluate previous publications in the field of nation-building and state-building in order to verify their pertinence to the situation in South Sudan. It was also expected that a qualitative literature review would highlight the gaps and shortcomings in

past research. In the framework of this study, a qualitative literature review was carried out as a thematic, rather than chronological, evaluation of previous publications (Marczyk et al. 2010).

A fixed research design would not have enabled such insight into the nature of nation-building and state-building processes in the newly independent South Sudan. In contrast with qualitative research, quantitative research relies on data expressed in numerical forms such as ratios, statistics and percentages. Quantitative research involves a systematic empirical investigation that seeks to understand a social phenomenon using mathematical, statistical and/or computational methods of measurement with the sole objective of identifying how various variables relate with others in order to determine the current state of the said phenomenon (Given 2008, pp. 22-87).

While qualitative research seeks to establish the why and how of phenomena, quantitative research merely identifies the what, in an unbiased, accurate and generalizable manner. The main strengths of qualitative research are that it enables the qualitative description and comparison of research variables, the description of social processes and structures that may otherwise be impossible to observe directly, the description of change in states, and the analysis and explanation of causal relationships and dependencies between various social phenomena (Given 2008). Nonetheless, qualitative research is very simplistic, non-detailed and non-substantive; such that it cannot provide comprehensive data about phenomenon, a shortcoming that can be compensated for by incorporating quantitative research.

To implement the qualitative research design, the present study adopted a four-phase implementation strategy. In the first phase of the research design, which is a component of the literature review, five qualitative case studies were conducted of other nations that have previously faced nation-building challenges both within and outside Africa. Case studies

provide a reliable comparative in-depth understanding of a phenomenon, and can be used to determine what is likely to happen under certain circumstances (Flyvbjerg 2006). A qualitative literature review was used in the case studies. This phase was instrumental in qualitatively identifying the challenges that South Sudan may face in its nation-building efforts as well as vital lessons that the new republic can learn from the successes and failures of other nations. Given that case studies of comparative subjects can be used to predict the outcomes in related contexts, the first phase of the research design was specifically designed to enable the researcher to draw appropriate recommendations for South Sudan, in its nation-building struggles (Flyvbjerg 2006).

The second phase of the research design constituted a qualitative document analysis and literature review. Qualitative research allows researchers to use secondary data published by others to investigate the consensus accruing from such data in respect to a new area of interest (Miles, & Huberman 1994, p. 96). Due to its area of interest and predetermined purpose, the present study relied heavily on a review of secondary data published by the media, government agencies and peer-reviewed academic journals. The secondary data analysis process involved subjecting these sources to a thematic analysis of the four key areas of interest for the present study, namely:

- a) South Sudan's social, economic, geographical and political context.
- b) Historical issues in South Sudan that, are relevant to its current nation-building efforts.
- c) South Sudan's nation-building context.
- d) Challenges confronting South Sudan's in nation-building.

The secondary data analysis was conducted qualitatively using a thematic framework (Patton 2002, p. 114). Once the most reliable and credible secondary data sources were



secured, the researcher read through all the sources for several times to become conversant with their overall content (Patton 2002, p. 108). Thereafter, the selected sources were grouped into the four distinct categories listed above with the aim of identifying the major themes in the data collected (Mile, & Huberman 1994). The next step was to create a table with each source as an entry in an independent row. Each of the 122 sources selected was then analyzed for what it postulated regarding one or several of the four core themes listed in corresponding columns of each row (Patton 2002).

The third phase of the research design involved gathering primary data from 50 purposively sampled stakeholders in the South Sudan nation-building process using field research (unstructured interviews). This phase constituted the qualitative phase of the study.

#### **4.4 Primary Data Collection and Analysis**

##### **4.4.1 Population, Sample and Sampling Techniques**

###### *4.4.1.1 Target Population*

The target population for the present study was the body of stakeholders of the South Sudan nation-building process, incorporating various interest groups who have direct knowledge of where the country has come from, where it is currently and where it is likely to go in the future. The study targeted people who have personally witnessed the nation-building process from the time before South Sudan gained her independence and thereafter, and who have an accurate, reliable and passionate interest in observing the progress of the country post-independence. These included people who have witnessed, participated in and who have vested interests in the nation-building process, either those who currently face the nation-building challenges that are of interest to this study, or those that have first-hand, informed knowledge of such challenges. The target population encompassed three distinct groups of people, namely, the diplomatic corps, South Sudan nationals and civil society.

#### *4.4.1.2 Sampling Procedure*

This study employed a purposive sampling procedure to recruit respondents from the target population, a choice that was mainly based on the purpose and objectives of this research undertaking. This study hoped to collect various perspectives from numerous stakeholders of the South Sudan nation-building process. Not everyone can provide such information. The study had to be judgmental in terms of who could provide reliable data on the challenges facing nation-building based on their education, profession, occupation, locality, and their historical experiences. This required that the researcher be very selective in selecting respondents (Snedecor 1939, pp. 848-855). As noted by Tongco (2007), “in choosing a sampling method for informant selection, the question the researcher is interested in answering is of utmost importance (since) the question will decide the objectives on which the methodology will be based” (p. 147). In most cases, purposive samples are essential in sociological studies where random samples cannot provide reliable data (Top et al. 2004, pp. 22-40).

A non-probability sampling method, the purposive sampling procedure is also known as the subjective, selective or judgmental sampling technique mainly because it investigates units of the target population and makes an informed judgement on the most suitable sample members based on their characteristics (Tongco 2007, pp. 147-158). Rather than randomly selecting sample members, a purposive sampling procedure selects members of various population units who are best able to provide the information or knowledge sought for by the study. This includes knowledge holders and special cases, which would not be selected randomly from the population. According to Oliver (2006), purposive sampling is:

A form of non-probability sampling in which decisions concerning the individuals to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher, based upon a variety of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue, or capacity and

willingness to participate in the research. Some types of research design necessitate researchers taking a decision about the individual participants who would be most likely to contribute appropriate data, both in terms of relevance and depth (Oliver 2006, p. 121).

Social researchers have historically attributed a high margin of error and low levels of reliability to purposive samples (Topp et al. 2004, p. 33-40). However, in recent times, researchers have argued that well-selected purposive samples can show reliability and validity, particularly where a random sample would otherwise be impossible to generate (Snedecor 1939). There are several types of purposive sampling, including expert sampling, maximum variation sampling, critical case sampling, typical case sampling, extreme case sampling, homogeneous sampling and total population sampling (Tongco 2007). The present study relied on expert sampling, where experts in various fields were purposively selected to provide an informed perspective (Oliver 2006). The researcher required three distinct groups to provide a variety of perspectives. These included:

- a) South Sudan nationals
  - (i) Those living in the country
  - (ii) Those living in the Diaspora (US, UK and Canada)
- b) Members of the Diplomatic Corps
  - (i) South Sudan diplomats representing the country in foreign nations (US, UK and Canada)
  - (ii) Foreign diplomats sent to South Sudan from other countries (US, UK and Canada)
- c) Civil society
  - (i) South Sudan's civil society working within the country

- (ii) International civil society bodies/agencies interested in South Sudan from outside the country

The researcher used personal contacts, public records and cold approaches to generate a list of respondents who could provide reliable data. The respondents were selected based on what they know about South Sudan's history, where they worked, their job description, their awareness of the South Sudan nation-building process, their involvement in the country's post-independence processes, their nationality in relation to South Sudan, their willingness to participate voluntarily in the study, their accessibility and their level of competence in speaking, writing and reading English. The researcher was able to generate a list of 69 potential respondents, out of whom a sample of 50 people was subsequently shortlisted.

#### *4.4.1.3 Sample Characteristics and Sample Size*

The researcher settled on a purposive sample of 50 respondents, incorporating 15 South Sudan nationals currently residing in the country, 12 South Sudan nationals currently residing in the Diaspora (four each from the US, the UK and Canada) three representatives of South Sudan embassies abroad (one each from the US, the UK and Canada), three foreign diplomats currently posted to South Sudan (one each from the US, UK and Canada embassies), four representatives from African embassies in South Sudan (one each from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa), five representatives from non-governmental agencies currently involved in South Sudan's socio-political scene from within the country, three representatives from international civil society agencies with an interest in South Sudan based outside the country, and finally, five experts in political science, government and economic development with a high level of specialist knowledge of South Sudan. This sample represented an assortment of perspectives from those most informed about, highly interested in, and involved with South Sudan's nation-building process. The sampling was based exclusive on the purpose of achieving research objectives and theoretical goals.

#### **4.4.2 Data Collection Instruments**

The study relied on one primary data collection instrument – unstructured interviews.

#### **4.4.3 Instrumentation**

Initially, the researcher proposed to use face-to-face interviews as one of the data collection strategies. However, it became very difficult to secure interviews with all the targeted respondents who are all very busy individuals with national responsibilities. Time and financial constraints also prevented the researcher from conducting such interviews. Although very few of the respondents requested anonymity, the researcher chose to offer blanket anonymity to all the respondents as a means of boosting the reliability of the results.

#### **4.4.4 Primary Data Analysis**

All primary data analysis was conducted qualitatively. Responses generated from each respondent were grouped into their respective research question. When all the interviews had been transcribed, the researcher initiated the data analysis process. To begin with, the research questions were listed in different Excel sheets. All the relevant data were identified and listed under their respective research question. Different possible answers for each of the questions posed were allocated a code number.

The next step after the data had been collected and organized by means of a qualitative literature review, case studies and qualitative interviews, was data analysis. The qualitative analysis of data was carried out in accordance with the steps delineated by Trochim (2006). The scholar advocates conduct analysis of data via three reciprocal stages: 1) data preparation, 2) data description, and 3) inferences.

The first stage of analysis was preparing the data by verifying it for accuracy, entering it into the computer, and transforming and structuring the data in order to display it as an intelligible system of information (Trochim 2006).

In the initial stage of analysis, the collected primary data on the peculiarities, challenges and perspectives of nation-building in South Sudan was checked for accuracy and cleared from bias. The steps for clearing the data from bias are explained in the section on 'Research Ethics'. The primary data was filtered and cleared of uncertainties, prejudices, unconfirmed speculations and fiction.

The second stage of analysis was the description of the cleared data. According to Trochim (2006), this stage usually addresses the basic characteristics of the collected data. In the context of this study, the description of data helped to ascertain salient features of nation-building in South Sudan as prospective rather than retrospective phenomenon.

Furthermore, the depiction of the collected data facilitated the understanding of whether nation-building is the most pertinent model for South Sudan's development, and whether it could address the different challenges.

Proper implementation of first previous two phases determined the success of the third stage – inference. This was designed to provide comprehensive answers to the research questions in order to reach proper conclusions in the final analysis.

After the data had been collected and analyzed, it was represented as the whole process of research in a certain form. Robson (2002) and Cohen et al. (2007) identify several forms of organizing the writing up of a research study. They clarify that the writing up of primary research must be carried out with two considerations in mind: a) fitness for research purpose; b) fitness for audience (Cohen et al 2007, p. 262).

Robson (2002) differentiate between the following forms of research representation: 1) suspense structure; 2) narrative report; 3) comparative structure; 4) chronological structure; 5) theory-generating structure; 6) unsequenced structure (pp. 512-513). The researcher concluded that that the narrative report is the best option for the representation of this work.

There are several reasons why a narrative report was selected to represent the research process and research findings. First, a narrative report always provides a prose account, interspersed with pertinent figures, tables, emergent issues, analysis and conclusions (Cohen et al 2007, p. 263). Second, a narrative report has a simple structure and is comprehensive. Third, a narrative report is more appropriate to qualitative studies with a negligible amount of numerical/statistical data.

## **4.5 Secondary Research Strategies**

### **4.5.1 Secondary Research Search Criteria**

#### *4.5.1.1 Selection Criteria*

The researcher ensured that only reliable and authentic secondary sources were used for the study. The reliability of the findings would be largely determined by the choice of and suitability of the secondary data sources. In light of this understanding, the researcher ensured that each selected source met certain criteria, which ensured that they adequately met the reliability measure required. For any publication to be deemed reliable and admissible for analysis, it had to fulfil the following criteria:

- a) The document had to be published by a reputable scholar with a credible research history in nation-building, Sudan or post-independence Africa; or an institution with authoritative status in the subject matter; or be an official report by a reliable government agency.
- b) The source had to be published by a reputable main stream media house with a leading national and/or international publication, a government agency or by a respectable academic journal.
- c) The source had to be published between 1980 and 2012.
- d) The source had to have all the features of a reliable, credible, professional and competently written work (academic or otherwise).

- e) The subject of discussion or enquiry covered by the source had to be nation-building, Sudan, South Sudan or nation-building issues in post-independence Africa.

#### *4.5.1.2 Search Keywords and Phrases*

Since the study relied extensively on literature sources for its data collection and analysis, it was important that reliable and suitable sources were accessed. This meant that the search process had to be both deliberate and strategic. To search for and identify these secondary data sources from academic publications, government reports or media publications, the following seven broad keywords and phrases were used as search criteria:

- a) Nation-building
- b) Challenges facing South Sudan
- c) Sudan conflict
- d) South Sudan nation-building
- e) Nation-building after independence
- f) Post-independence Africa
- g) Sudan peace agreement

#### **4.5.2 Secondary Data Analysis Process**

Once the appropriate secondary data sources were collected, the researcher initiated the data analysis process. The seven key words and phrases were fed to three reliable internet search engines for general and academic content and the researcher accumulated hundreds of sources. However, very few of these sources were authoritative textbooks published by experts or peer-reviewed journal articles or reliable reports carried by reputable periodicals. Most of the sources generated by the search were news articles published in online portals. The researcher thus sought books, government reports and journal articles that covered the most relevant interests of the present enquiry. All the selected sources were then reviewed



with regard to their findings on, descriptions of, reports on or discussion of four core themes, namely:

- a) Challenges facing South Sudan
- b) Nation-building challenges facing South Sudan
- c) Post-independence Africa and nation-building
- d) South Sudan's opportunities and abilities in nation-building

#### **4.6 Research Ethics**

The study incorporated a qualitative research design. Although a huge component of the present study relied on secondary data and theoretical analysis, there were still some significant ethical considerations in its execution. Firstly, it involved the participation of 50 highly respectable people as primary respondents. These respondents have important jobs and their positions, roles and responsibilities are very sensitive. It was thus important that these respondents were treated ethically. It was very important to consider their reputation and image in the manner in which they were depicted as participants in the study. Firstly, all the participants were treated with respect and were not subjected to any humiliating, abusive or unbecoming experiences. The researcher ensured that all participants were recruited voluntarily and that each was informed beforehand of his/her role in the research process. The respondents were treated with respect and decorum in all interactions with the researcher. Furthermore, the data generated from the respondents was treated confidentially, and their complete anonymity was ensured. All the primary data was used solely for the purpose of this study and will not be shared with any third parties now or in the future.

With regard to the secondary data research processes, the study required the critical analysis of secondary data sources including journal articles, media reports, textbooks and institutional/agency reports. These sources were used with due diligence to ensure that the original authors were not misrepresented and that all data sourced from various publications

was accurately presented. Furthermore, the secondary data used in the study was attributed to the original copyright owners with accurate citations. The researcher ensured that there were no copyright violations and that no material was plagiarized. In instances where the use of a secondary data source required that the researcher seek permission from the original authors or from copyright holders, necessary measures were taken to ensure that such permission was granted.

To ensure compliance with ethical requirements, authorization was obtained from the relevant authorities to conduct interviews. All the respondents were properly informed of the nature of the research. Each was asked to grant consent to participate in the research study. The Participation Information Sheet and Consent Form are provided in the *Appendices*.

Cohen et al. (2007) argue that ethical problems may proliferate as the researcher moves from the abstract to the concrete and from the general to the particular. They identify the following core ethical issues in any research: a) informed consent; b) gaining access to and acceptance in the research setting; c) privacy matters; d) anonymity, confidentiality, betrayal, deception; e) code of practice for research; f) responsibilities to the research community, etc. (Cohen et al. 2007, p. 51).

Furthermore, the necessary steps were taken to augment the validity and reliability of the study. Cohen et al. (2007) observe that the biggest ethical dilemma in a social research lies in the need to maintain a balance between the requirements placed on the researchers as professional scholars in pursuit of truth, “and their subjects’ rights and values potentially threatened by the research” (p. 51).

Robson (2002) describes the types of practices which should be avoided for ethical reasons: a) inducement to participate in research without the participants’ consent or knowledge; b) compelling people to take part in the research; c) withholding information pertaining to the nature of the research; d) deceiving the participant in some or other way; e)

spurring participants to act with prejudice to their self-esteem; f) inflicting mental or physical stress on participants; g) encroaching on participants' rights to privacy; h) refusal to show fair treatment, due respect or consideration to participants, etc. (Robson 2002).

Likewise, Blaxter et al. (2010) state that ethical issues are not confined to the problem of privacy and other individual rights (p. 167). They may also relate to the methodological principles underlying the research design.

The researcher decided to formulate the most efficient way of avoiding all possible ethical problems in the current study. This was fulfilled through a series of formal steps. First, an official letter was sent to the organizations in question. This contained a brief outline of the research objectives and the reasons for conducting the study. Second, formal permission for access to the research setting was obtained. Third, the respondents were informed about the nature of research and assured of their anonymity.

The necessary steps to eliminate research bias were also taken. It was recognized that various forms of bias could arise during the process of questioning the respondents and analyzing the findings. It was therefore necessary to gain insight into various types of bias and consider their relevance to the context of this study.

The first type of possible bias is interviewer bias. This may occur if the researcher's comments, non-verbal behaviour or tone create bias in the respondents' answers to the questions during an interview. This type of bias may also occur during the prejudiced interpretation of results (Easterby-Smith et al 2002). In order to avoid this bias, it was necessary to eliminate personal emotions, attitude and opinions during the collection and analysis of the data.

The second type of bias is response bias. This form of bias may be incited by the perceptions about the researcher. According to Saunders et al. (2007) it usually occurs when the researcher not only provides questions to be answered, but also seeks explanations (p.

318). In order to avoid this bias, all respondents were asked to decide whether to provide motives for their answers or to refrain from providing motives.

In summary, response bias was more likely to take place in the process of interviewing and analyzing the results, because the research topic was very sensitive.

#### **4.7 Research Variables**

This chapter delineates the research variables in this study. It discusses the overall research philosophy, followed by the independent variable, and the dependent variables. Thereafter, the contravening variables are identified, followed by a discussion on how the contravening variables were delimited and controlled. The chapter concludes with a brief summary.

In the context of this study, the research philosophy is a way of addressing and explaining the research questions and research objectives. The choice of a specific research philosophy was considered to shed light on the direction of the study and the relevance of the methods chosen.

Saunders et al. (2007) distinguish several types of research philosophies, including epistemology, positivism, realism, interpretivism, ontology, objectivism, subjectivism, pragmatism, axiology, etc. The choice of the appropriate philosophy was the most difficult part of the study as it required deep thinking and evaluation.

In conformity with Saunders et al. (2007), the relevant research philosophy was selected in terms of the principle that “which is ‘better’ depends on the research question(s) you are seeking to answer” (p. 116). In view of the fact that the study was political science research with socio-legal and economic-related research questions, the appropriate research philosophy was interpretivism (the need to interpret the meaning of nation-building in order to facilitate applied research).

#### **4.8 Research Paradigm**

An important factor in the implementation of any empirical study is the approach/perspective taken by the researcher, and the ideological standpoint that guides his or her research process (collection and analysis of data). These considerations imply the need

to determine the philosophical approach that every study chooses to adopt in its execution. Clarke (1998) notes that, “research methods can be described, considered and classified at different levels, the most basic of which is the philosophical level”. A research paradigm and philosophy is the template upon which a study collects data in the most appropriate and effective manner for the attainment of the overarching research purpose. The term ‘research paradigm’ refers to the ways in which a researcher conceptualizes a research philosophy. According to Easter-by-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2006), three distinct components of a research paradigm help a researcher to arrive at a study’s research philosophy, namely, epistemology (the assumptions and conditions upon which the nature of the real world can be investigated), ontology (assumptions created to enhance the understanding of the real world), and methodology (techniques by means of which a researcher can investigate phenomena). Every research process must begin with a plan of what it needs to investigate, how best to investigate it and how to ensure that the findings are relevant and useful to the field under investigation (Sekaran 2006). In most cases, this requires abiding by some standard of practice acceptable in the conduct of research (Saunders et al. 2012, p. 49).

A research paradigm is therefore the researcher’s perspective when conducting any study that is based on a shared set of values, conventions, assumptions, concepts, parameters and practices for the proper implementation of scholarly research (Johnson, and Christensen 2010). This means that a research paradigm is the function of how the researcher approaches the search for new knowledge and how he/she integrates his/her role in that process with the emerging knowledge ((Saunders et al. 2012, p. 62). A paradigm features two components, namely, research knowledge and the researcher, and these components relate to each other. It is important to note however, that a paradigm remains a mere perspective, the demeanour, approach, frame of reference or mind-set through which a researcher approaches a study (Sekaran 2006). The actual ideological plan or standpoint is the research philosophy. While

the literature identifies several types of research philosophies, the present study is based on one philosophy - interpretivism.

Since interpretivism can only suit qualitative studies, it is often replaced by a more non-absolute philosophy when a study is interested in interpretations and descriptions. The interpretivist researcher has to interact with the collected data to generate subjective estimations of its meaning or implications (Kasi 2009).

Interpretivism is thus social constructionism in research, where social scientists can employ their understanding, decisions, judgments and conclusions to reach a particular set of findings, as long as there is adequate data to adequately justify such conclusions for a given research problem (Johnson, and Christensen 2010, p. 43). This philosophical approach to research thus only requires a small sample of the population, in order to enable the researcher to conduct an in-depth analysis of relationships, correlations, outcomes and perceptions typical of the larger population (Kasi 2009, pp. 52-86). While this approach is not well suited for generalizations, it provides the most descriptive, in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon.

In choosing the research paradigm and philosophy for the present study, the researcher considered the purpose of the study, its chosen research method and its defined objectives (Proctor 1998, pp. 73-90). The research philosophy is only derivable from a research method/approach (Kasi 2009). Since the study was designed to collect and analyze qualitative data, it was imperative that the philosophical approach chosen reflect and facilitate this intent (Proctor 1998). For instance, part of the study required a qualitative approach while the other required a quantitative approach. This meant that the researcher had to adopt a philosophical approach that best suited each component of these research methodologies.

As discussed in the previous chapter, this study adopted a qualitative research design to optimize the strength of each approach while at the same time minimizing the weaknesses

of each approach. The qualitative component of the research design had three vital subcomponents, namely, qualitative case studies of equivalent nations with a historical post-conflict nation-building process, a qualitative literature review, and qualitative unstructured interviews. The qualitative research was then used to gather practical, reliable and current primary data on South Sudan's nation-building process from stakeholders in the process who have past and present experience of where the country has come from, where it is currently and where it is expected to go in the future.

Consequently, the researcher determined that the purpose of the research study would be best served by adopting interpretivist philosophical approaches to serve the qualitative components of the adopted research design.

## **4.9 Research Variables**

### **4.9.1 Independent Variable**

The term 'variable' in social research is biased towards experimental research. For instance, when conducting an experiment, the variable that is manipulated, changed or modified by the researcher is the independent variable (Heppner et al. 1999, p. 38). When investigating the effect of a particular school program on the performance of middle school students in mathematics, the researcher will expose a section of the sample to the said program (which in this case constitutes the treatment/manipulation deployed on the experimental group of the sample) and compare their performance in mathematics with a group that has not been exposed to the said program (the control group) (LaFountain and Bartos 2002, pp. 54-62). The program being tested is the independent variable; in other words, the variable that causes/triggers/originates the effect on other variables (LaFountain and Bartos 2002, p. 69).

On the other hand, there is the variable that receives the effect, is influenced by the manipulation or undergoes transformation subject to the changes imposed on the independent



variable. This recipient variable is the dependent variable. To determine the findings of experimental research, a researcher measures the manner, intensity and significance of the response that the dependent variable undergoes upon the causative influence of the independent variable (LaFountain and Bartos 2002, p. 56). The independent variables of a study constitute the variables that an experimenter controls, manipulates and modifies. The dependent variables are neither manipulated nor changed, but are measured and observed for the variation presumably attributable to the manipulation imposed on the independent variable (Heppner et al. 1999, p. 43). As such, independent variables are the presumed causative agents of change, while the dependent variables are the presumed recipients of the change effect or the change effect itself (LaFountain and Bartos 2002, p. 69). In other words, independent variables are the antecedents of change while the dependent variables are the consequents of the change process (Heppner et al. 1999, p. 41).

This explanation presents the most basic understanding of the terms independent and dependent variables in social research. However, some research undertakings are not experimental and do not involve a measurable variation of any of the variables involved. These non-experimental research studies are based on the concept of logical relationships. A good example is an investigation of cultural differences between two ethnic groups. On the one hand we have cultural differences as a variable and on the other we have two ethnic groups as the other variable. None of these variables can be manipulated to impact measurable change on the other (Heppner et al. 1999, p. 63). A researcher in this type of study can only infer a logical relationship between the two variables. Kerlinger (1986) argues that:

In non-experimental research, where there is no experimental manipulation, the independent variable is the variable that 'logically' has some effect on a dependent variable. For example, in the research on cigarette-smoking and lung cancer,

cigarette-smoking, which has already been done by many subjects, is the independent variable (Kerlinger 1986, p. 32).

A researcher cannot intentionally control the smoking tendencies of subjects and he or she is not able to impose certain smoking behaviour to measure how it impacts subjects' lung cancer risks (Rosenthal, and Rosnow 1991, p. 74). The best he or she can hope for is to recruit respondents with varied but comparative smoking habits, and then impute how their existing smoking habits have impacted on their cancer risk (Kerlinger 1986, pp. 73-94). In the present study, the variables are the current challenging/delimitative social, economic, political, geographical and environmental factors in the newly constituted Republic of South Sudan on the one hand, and the nation-building process resulting from the country's transformation from an autonomous region to an independent and sovereign state on the other. The researcher cannot influence either of these two variables, either by manipulating the subject nation or the inherent challenges it faces in nation-building.

It thus follows that, if a researcher is unable to manipulate or control the independent variable, that variable is better referred to as the status variable of the study, an equivalent to the independent variable (Heppner, et al. 1999). Examples of status variables include religion, ethnicity, behaviour, gender, health condition, social class etc. According to Heppner, Kivlighan and Wampold (1999), when a researcher does not manipulate or control or manipulate the status variable of a study, he or she can and often does, regard that status variable as the independent variable. In the present study therefore, the status variable was:

- Contemporary challenging and delimitative social, economic, political, geographical and environmental factors that characterize the newly constituted Republic of South Sudan, and which constitute its realistic definitive features as a sovereign state.

- These are simply the negative character traits of the country's current status based on what it has or does not have, what it can or cannot do, and what it is or is not.

#### **4.9.2 Dependent Variable**

Following the discussion in the foregoing section, the dependent variable of an experimental research study is expected to be the variable that receives the effect, is influenced by the manipulation, and undergoes transformation subject to the changes imposed on the independent variable; in other words, it is subject to the causative influence of the independent variable (LaFountain, and Bartos 2002). However, in a non-experimental study where the independent variable cannot be manipulated, the dependent variable is the variable that is impacted by the status variable (Rosenthal, and Rosnow 1991). The independent variable represents the variable likely to be affected by any change in the status variable (Kerlinger 1986). Rosenthal and Rosnow (1991) argue that:

The dependent variable refers to the status of the 'effect' (or outcome) in which the researcher is interested; the independent variable refers to the status of the presumed 'cause,' changes in which lead to changes in the status of the dependent variable...any event or condition can be conceptualized as either an independent or a dependent variable. For example, it has been observed that rumor-mongering can sometimes cause a riot to erupt, but it has also been observed that riots can cause rumors to surface. Rumors are variables that can be conceived of as causes (independent variables) and as effects (dependent variables) (Rosenthal and Rosnow 1991, p. 71).

In terms of the present study, the literature confirms that the success of a new or old state's nation-building is subject to numerous determining factors some of which are

delimitative while others are beneficial. For example, a singular language is beneficial to nation-building, while divergent cultures in a multi-ethnic society may be conceived of as a challenge for nation-building. Consequently, when the social, cultural, economic and political factors of a nation are regarded as the status variable in the present study, they are conceptualized as having the potential to impact on or to influence the nation-building process. As such, the dependent variable of the present study was:

- The current nation-building following the country's transformation from an autonomous region of the former Sudan to an independent and sovereign state, the Republic of South Sudan.
  - Comprising of all the nation-building efforts currently directed at helping the world's newest republic to rise from the ashes of decades of conflict, to build its stature in the international community independent of its parent nation, Republic of Sudan, and establish proper democratic governance structures that maintain social, political and economic stability and progress for the South Sudan population.

#### **4.9.3 Contravening Variables**

Contravening or extraneous variables are those variables that have a significant influence on a study's dependent and independent variables, and since they are not of interest to the researcher, must necessarily be eliminated or toned (controlled) to ensure their minimal significance (LaFountain, and Bartos 2002). In all studies, whether experimental or otherwise, there are often other factors that affect the relationship between the independent and dependent variable (Kerlinger 1986). For example, a study on the effect of an exercise program on the health and fitness of senior citizens in a country may find that their attitude to exercise and health or even towards life, has significant impact on the research outcomes.

The new exercise program may have a highly positive impact among participants who are enthusiastic and optimistic, while it may have a dismal and even non-existent impact on those with a pessimistic, disinterested demeanour towards life. In such instances, the influence of the independent variable (the experimental exercise program) on the dependent variable (the health and fitness of senior citizens), may be significantly interfered with by the contravening/extraneous variable (individual attitudes).

Similarly, in studying the impact of education on the social integration rates of black American youths into the mainstream society, childhood background, career type, individual behaviour, and personal interests among many other factors may act as the intervening, contravening or extraneous variables. The intervening variables are also referred to as control or controlled variables, because in most cases, they are not the focus of the study and the researcher has no interest in their significance; as such, they must be controlled out of the equation during the study (Heppner, et al. 1999, p. 36). A good study ensures the minimal effect of these extraneous variables as a pre-condition for the reliability, accuracy and validity of the findings generated (Kerlinger 1986, pp. 73-94). This is because the results of a study must represent the changes in the dependent variable that are exclusively attributable to the manipulation of changes in the independent variable. If the contravening variables are not controlled, such changes in the dependent variable cannot exclusively be attributed to the manipulation of the independent variable (Heppner et al. 1999, p. 42).

The present study had at least three contravening/extraneous, controlled variables the most significant of which were:

- a) The willingness and commitment of the South Sudan government to pursue progressive nation-building, since without the government's firm resolve to build the new nation, the nation-building processes is already disadvantaged regardless of any contextual factors.

- b) Natural calamities such as draughts, earthquakes, floods and manmade disasters such as terrorist attacks, which can add to the challenges of nation-building regardless of the social, economic, cultural, political and environmental context.
- c) The impact of the continued conflict between South Sudan and Sudan either due to independent militants or to military action from either party. Such attacks may seriously change the current situation for the worse, destroying the remaining infrastructure, interfering with education and health programs, discontinuing current support by the international community, and interrupting economic recovery. Since such incidences cannot be foreseen, the study cannot guarantee that the current situation in which South Sudan has initiated its nation-building process remain valid in the near future.

#### **4.10 Variable Controls**

Furthermore, the researcher could not exercise any form of control over the extraneous variables identified by this study. It is impossible to guarantee that there will be adequate government support, no natural or manmade disasters, or peace between Sudan and South Sudan. However, to ensure that these factors did not negatively impact the study's findings, the researcher incorporated political and environmental considerations into the independent variable, so that the three potential implications were adequately considered in view of other factors.

#### **4.11 Chapter Summary**

This chapter provided an in-depth discussion of the research methodology adopted by the present study. It reviewed the study's research questions, described its research design and discussed the primary and secondary research strategies used by the study. This study was a fundamental research exercise aimed at increasing understanding of South Sudan's nation-building process by identifying and discussing the challenges confronting this process,

without any attempt at present to provide solutions to existing problems. As such, in determining the research methodology appropriate for the study, the researcher was solely interested in providing a literature and evidence-based discussion of South Sudan's nation-building task, detailing the social, economic and political challenges facing the nation in its transition from autonomy to independence, and providing recommendations founded on a critical overview of international case studies, the nation-building theory, and the renewed role of the international community. It was noted that the research methodology and methods chosen were the most appropriate in generating reliable and accurate answers to these research questions.

The study adopted a qualitative research design with a descriptive research approach. The qualitative component of the research design had three vital subcomponents, namely, qualitative case studies of equivalent nations with a historical post-conflict nation-building process, a qualitative literature review, and qualitative unstructured interviews. The qualitative research method was used to gather practical, reliable and current primary data on South Sudan's nation-building process from stakeholders who have past and present experience of where the country has come from, where it is currently and where it is likely to go in the future. The qualitative research design was implemented in a four-phase strategy. The first phase was a component of the literature review and involved five qualitative case studies of other nations that have previously faced nation-building challenges both within and outside Africa. The second phase of the research design constituted a qualitative document analysis and literature review. The third phase involved gathering primary data from 50 purposively sampled stakeholders in the South Sudan nation-building process using field research (unstructured interviews).

As part of the primary research phase, the target population for the present study was stakeholders of the South Sudan nation-building process, incorporating various interest

groups who have direct experience of where the country has come from, where it is currently and where it is likely to go in the future. As such, the study targeted people who have personally witnessed the nation-building process from before South Sudan gained her independence and thereafter, and who have an accurate, reliable and passionate interest in observing the progress of the country post-independence. The researcher used purposive sampling to recruit respondents from the target population, a choice that was mainly based on the purpose and objectives of this research undertaking. The study hoped to collect various perspectives from numerous stakeholders of the South Sudan nation building process, and not everyone can provide such information. These groups included South Sudan nationals (those living in the country and those in the Diaspora), members of the Diplomatic Corps (South Sudan diplomats representing the country in foreign nations and foreign diplomats sent to South Sudan from other countries), as well as civil society (South Sudan's civil society working within the country, and international civil society bodies/agencies with an interest in South Sudan but operating outside the country).

Ultimately, the researcher settled on a purposive sample of 50 respondents, incorporating 15 South Sudan nationals currently residing in the country, 12 South Sudan nationals currently residing in the Diaspora (four each from the US, the UK and Canada) three representatives of South Sudan embassies abroad (one each from the US, the UK and Canada), three foreign diplomats currently posted to South Sudan (one each from the US, UK and Canada embassies), four representatives from African embassies in South Sudan (one each from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa), five representatives from non-governmental agencies currently involved in South Sudan's socio-political affairs within the country, three representatives from international civil society agencies with an interest in South Sudan although based outside the country, and finally, five experts in political science,



government and economic development with a high level of specialist knowledge of South Sudan. The study relied on two primary data collection instruments.

The sample was purposefully selected. Criteria as age, gender, and religion, were not taken into consideration when selecting members of the sample group. Rather, they were selected on the basis of their professional affiliation to nation-building processes. The main purpose of the sampling process was to create a pluralistic group of respondents which are connected with one another due to their direct duties in the domain of nation-building.

This chapter also delineated the research variables in this study. The chapter begun by discussing the overall research philosophy and paradigm guiding the research process, and then provided a comprehensive discussion of the independent variable, dependent variables and contravening variables identified in this study. The final section explained how the contravening variables were delimited and controlled. One of the most important factors in the implementation of any empirical study is the approach/perspective taken by the researcher, and the ideological standpoint that guides his or her research process (the collection and analysis of data). These considerations suggest the need to determine the philosophical paradigm and approach that every study chooses to adopt in its execution. It was noted that a research paradigm and philosophy is the template upon which a study collects data in the most appropriate and effective manner for the attainment of the overarching research purpose. The chapter discussed the numerous types of research philosophies identified in the literature, but focuses on one type, interpretivism.

It was noted that, in choosing the research paradigm and philosophy for the present study, the researcher considered the purpose of the study, its chosen research method and its defined objectives. The researcher determined that the purpose of the present research would be best served by adopting the interpretivist philosophical approach to serve the qualitative components of the adopted research design.

Thereafter, the discussion focused on defining, exemplifying and discussing the concept of variables in social research. It was noted that, when conducting an experiment, the variable that is manipulated, changed or modified by the researcher is the independent variable, while the variable that receives the effect, is influenced by the manipulation or which undergoes transformation subject to the changes imposed on the independent variable is the dependent variable. To determine the findings of an experimental research study, a researcher measures the manner, intensity and significance of the response that the dependent variable undergoes upon the causative influence of the independent variable. However, some research undertakings are not experimental and do not involve a measurable variation of any of the variables involved. These non-experimental research studies are based on the concept of logical relationships since none of their variables can be manipulated to impact measurable change on the other. The discussion noted that in this study, the researcher cannot influence any of these two variables, either by manipulating the subject nation or the inherent challenges it faces in nation-building.

When a researcher is unable to manipulate or control the independent variable, that variable is better referred to as the status variable of the study, equivalent to the independent variable. Consequently, in the present study, the status variable was the contemporary challenging and delimitative social, economic, political, geographical and environmental factors that characterize the newly constituted Republic of South Sudan, and which constitute its realistic definitive features as a sovereign state (featuring the negative character traits of the country's current status based on what it has or does not have, what it can or cannot do, and what it is or is not). On the other hand, the dependent variable of the present study was the current nation-building process following the country's transformation from an autonomous region of the former Sudan to an independent and sovereign state, the Republic of South Sudan (comprising all the nation-building efforts currently directed at helping the

world's newest republic to rise from the ashes of decades of conflict, to build its stature in the international community independent of its parent nation, Republic of Sudan, and establish proper democratic governance structures that maintain social, political and economic stability and progress for the South Sudan population).

The chapter also identified three contravening or extraneous variables (those variables what have a significant influence on a study's dependent and independent variables, and which must necessarily be eliminated or controlled to ensure their minimal significance in the study). These included a) the willingness and commitment of the South Sudan government to pursue progressive nation-building, b) natural calamities and manmade disasters, and finally, c) the potential impact of continued conflict between South Sudan and Sudan. In an attempt to prevent these extraneous variables from negatively impacting the study's findings, the researcher incorporated their potential likelihood as part of the independent variable (political and environmental considerations).

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **5.0 Nation Building Process in South Sudan: Prospects and Challenges**

#### **5.1 Chapter Introduction**

Having introduced the study, delineated its purpose and objectives, conducted a literature review, designed the research methodology, identified the research variables and conducted the data collection process, the next step in the research process was to analyze and present the findings of the study. This penultimate chapter of the thesis presents the findings generated by the study. These are arranged systematically in accordance with the five research questions posed by the study. The five assumptions formulated for the study are also tested in order to either validate or invalidate these assumptions on the basis of the findings. It should be noted that the data analysis and presentation of the findings focused on examining recent national and international events in the making of the world's youngest country, providing case study analysis of other African and Asian nations that have undergone similar or near-similar processes, conducting an empirical primary data investigation that identifies the challenges that the country faces in its nation-building quest, analyzing South Sudan's future and finally, recommending how the identified challenges can be mitigated in order to promote this young, troubled, yet promising nation's prospects.

#### **5.2. Problems Facing the Republic of South Sudan**

In the words of a seasoned Sudan-based CNN reporter, "although a heavy price was paid for independence - Sudan's North and South fought one of Africa's longest and bloodiest civil wars - declaring statehood isn't as simple as hoisting a flag" (Neild 2011, p. 2). While nations gained independence and succeeded in nation-building prior to the birth of South Sudan, it seems that South Sudan has begun its process from a very disadvantageous position.

Indeed, experts have argued that the country faces more severe nation-building challenges than any nation has ever faced. While there are no standard blueprints for a

country gaining independence, experts argue that “South Sudan's secession boldly goes where no other new nation has gone before” (Neild 2011, p. 2). The country faces major problems in its nation-building course, including devastating tribal divisions, generations born into and only conversant with war, grossly undeveloped economic potential, ethnic animosity, continuing problems along the borders with the North, inadequate resources to launch development projects and an acute lack of skilled manpower to take responsibility for nation-building.

Neild notes the extent of these problems, “from Juba, a capital city that just a few years ago was a dirt-track town largely cut off from the outside world, across a region with little infrastructure that is still reeling from conflict” (2011, p. 4). The following sub-sections present a critical review of the literature on the problems currently facing the world’s newest republic as it embarks on nation-building.

### **5.2.1 Establishing Central Governance**

South Sudan is facing an uphill battle in building a central government, in a country that previously had no government structures. Unlike many African nations, South Sudan had the misfortune of inheriting a war zone instead of government structures at independence. Bayart (1993) observes that most African independent states inherited their colonial masters’ governance structures and all they had to do was improve them and adapt them to a new governance philosophy (pp. 18 - 27).

These nations had the benefit of pre-existing formal government institutions, even though most were copies of the state institutions in the colonizing Western nation, and their major task was to transform these institutions to gain an African character (Bayart 1993, pp. 18 – 27). However, South Sudan was largely governed by the North in a less formal way. By the end of the war, any semblance of central government had been destroyed. The country has to install new governance structures from the presidency to the community elders.

Furthermore, the country lacks a civil society that is truly independent and contributes to the democratic process. Most voluntary associations (NGOs) in South Sudan are implants from foreign nations. Their main role is to channel foreign aid into the country and do not represent a unified civil front that can help the country develop its democratic process (Eriksen 2008, pp. 289 – 290).

Research has illustrated the vital role played by civil society in developing a country's central governance system. A good example is provided by Eriksen (2000) from Kigoma, Tanzania. Voluntary organizations in Kigoma resulted from a “decline of police capacity to maintain law and order” (p. 9). This demonstrates the pivotal role that civil society can play as a young nation struggles to build its central governance structures.

South Sudan has to go beyond what Bayart terms ‘the reciprocal assimilation of elites’ where a few educated and wealthy elites converge to exploit state resources at the expense of majority of the population (1993, pp. 29 – 34). Since the country lacks historical central government unlike most independent African states, it must now focus on building its own government structures by involving its people. In order to gain acceptance and support, such a structure must seek and achieve consensus among all factions and tribes.

It will also be important for South Sudan to install mechanisms to facilitate international relations. The country needs to send its ambassadors to friendly states across the globe, to host other nations’ embassies and to send representatives to international bodies such as the UN. An international presence is vital in the development of a country’s governance system. Giddens observes that, “international relations are not connections set up between pre-established states, which could maintain their sovereign power without them, they are the basis upon which the nation state exists at all” (1985, pp. 263 – 264).

The challenge is that South Sudan will have to start from zero in building its foreign relations alongside many other economic, political and social challenges.

### **5.2.2 The All-Important Oil Factor: The Past and the Present**

The Republic of South Sudan was officially born on 9 July 2011 and had had a credible national economy for less than a year at the time of this study. In discussing the history of the region and analysing its future prospects, it is clear that oil has played and continues to play a very significant causative role. Shankleman notes that South Sudan and Sudan are very small players in the global oil market. However, “oil has been a dominant factor in the economics and domestic and international politics of north and south since it was first discovered in the late 1970s (and notably), oil wealth contributed to the second phase of Sudan’s civil wars, and the sharing of oil revenue was a key component of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (and) has been a major issue in post-referendum negotiations” (2011, p. 2). As noted earlier, oil and oil revenues were at the centre of the conflict between the North and the South. As the new republic commences its independence journey, oil remains a potential source of conflict.

The achievement of a truly independent South Sudan is highly dependent on the resolution of such conflicts, as most of the current challenges confronting the country are related to the struggle for scarce economic resources such as the vast oil reserves and border disputes between South Sudan and its northern counterpart.

The recent clashes between the Sudanese army and the SPLA are proof that the struggle for resources following independence could easily develop into large scale conflict, further undermining the peaceful transition. This is largely because the new government of both South Sudan and the regime in the North view the border solely from the perspective of economic gains with little consideration for the communities living in the region. As Shankleman points out, “...violent conflict has emerged in some of the oil areas in the months preceding independence (and) South Sudan and the international community must

ensure security for oil workers and installations so that the new state gets the oil income it depends on” (2011, p. 2).

For the purpose of the present discussion, it is important to highlight that South Sudan has two distinct economies. On the one hand, there is an informal sector within which more than nine million South Sudanese depend on subsistence agriculture and other informal activities. Shankleman reports that, “according to a 2009 household research, almost 50 percent of households had not used money at all in the previous week” (2011, p. 2).

On the other hand, the formal economy is the source of almost all national income, but makes a marginal contribution to employment. According to Shankleman, this sector “is dominated by production and export of crude oil and, to a lesser extent, by multilateral, bilateral, and nongovernmental organization (NGO) aid” (2011, p. 2).

South Sudan has not diversified its economy and currently derives 98% of its revenue from the petroleum industry. If the border conflict continues to escalate, oil production in the region will be affected as foreign investors are scared away by the violence. Reduced oil production will have severe economic repercussions that will undermine the peace and development process in South Sudan. Potential solutions to the oil and border related challenges include encouraging and supporting the government of South Sudan to build its own oil facilities, refineries and pipelines.

Although discovered in the 1970s, oil has been produced in Sudan since the beginning of the 1990s and has been the economic mainstay of both the South and the North. The discovery of and subsequent exploitation of oil has been blamed by many for escalating the conflict between the South and the North prior to 2011 (Shankleman 2011, p. 1). The independent south hopes that oil will no longer be a cause of conflict between the two new nations.



The major problem is that, while most of the active and potential oilfields are located in South Sudan (a factor that is blamed for Khartoum's unwillingness to relinquish control of the South during the war), South Sudan does not have the ability to exploit this vital resource because all the export pipelines, refineries and the Red Sea export terminal are located in the North (Shankleman 2011, p. 1).

Fears of renewed conflict due to shared oil resources are rife. While the South has already launched plans to develop its oil infrastructure to enable its independence from the North, the two countries are still on a potential road to conflict. Shankleman (2011) points out that, "agreement to share control over oil resources and revenues was a central part of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, but up to the eve of South Sudan's secession, north and south had not resolved how to divide the industry or its revenues" (p. 1).

Since the referendum and subsequent independence, South Sudan has had several rows with its northern counterpart. Oil production was halted at the beginning of 2012 after a standoff between the two governments on how to share oil revenues. The South Sudan government has sworn to keep the north-owned pipelines dry until they can complete construction of their own pipeline through Kenya to the Indian Ocean coastline. April was marked by numerous standoffs and confrontations between the two countries regarding key oil-rich areas on their borders.

The nature of the existing oil industry is also problematic (Fattouh and Darbouche 2010, pp. 1119 – 1129). Not only is it prone to corruption, mismanagement and wastage, but it is also grossly unsustainable. Oil production in South Sudan is toxic and destructive to the environment. The country has yet to join the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, an international initiative that allows human rights and environmental auditors to monitor oil production based on international standards (Shankleman 2011, p. 2). The industry is also dominated by small companies. There is need to develop a remediation program and to attract

reputable global companies to enhance the quality of oil exploration and extraction (Fattouh and Darbouche 2010, pp. 1119 – 1129).

Another problem is that, while showing tremendous potential, South Sudan's oil may not suffice in solving the country's current challenges (Fattouh and Darbouche 2010, pp. 1119 – 1129). Shankleman notes that, "South Sudan starts independence facing huge challenges in using its oil wealth to jump-start development in the country, where over 50 percent of its people live below the poverty line and over 80 percent are illiterate" (2011, p. 1).

Despite being the primary revenue source, oil revenue is not sufficient to fund the important governance, education, health, reconstruction and employment needs of the young nation. To make matters worse, experts concur that South Sudan's oil resources are declining, a situation that will worsen by 2015.

Unless the government invests heavily in increasing output and funding new explorations, South Sudan will witness an acute decline in oil production from 2015. This means that, at the time of writing, the country had less than three years to diversify its economy and develop alternative sources of revenue. As Shankleman pointed out, three years was "too little time under any circumstances" (2011, p. 1).

Even if the country was to invest in increasing production, this would not be enough to stabilize the economy. Shankleman observes that South Sudan is "the most oil-dependent state in the world"; until the national economy is diversified, the South Sudan government will experience income fluctuations and uncertainties due to changes in the global oil price.

This by itself will present a challenge to the country in developing sound macroeconomic policies and frameworks. It is almost impossible to plan long-term infrastructure development and economic diversification amidst the acute revenue fluctuations that an oil-dependent nation is bound to experience (2011, p. 2).

It is also noteworthy that just before independence, South Sudan and Sudan held negotiations on how some of the oilfields that lie at the border of the two countries would divide oil revenues once the southern secession process was complete (Leo 2010, p. 44).

Fortunately, it is now generally clear which oil resources fall under South Sudan's jurisdiction and which are in the North. However, the specific details of how the series of oil fields located at the border of the two nations would be managed and allocated were not agreed on (2011, p. 3).

Shankleman (2011) notes that:

oil issues were prominent in the negotiations between north and south both before and after the referendum of January 2011 (and) the key questions concerned who owned the oil fields straddling the north-south border, whether a revenue-sharing formula would be retained, and, if not, what price the south would pay to access export pipelines and ports in the north, and how state-owned oil assets, including those held by the state oil company Sudapet, would be distributed after southern secession (2011, p. 5).

It is important to note that Sudan's oil fields produce two distinct types of crude oil each with a different market value (Leo 2010, p. 44). According to the pre-independence agreement, South Sudan owns three of the major oil-producing areas. However, the oil fields have different production trajectories. The first area encompassing blocks 1, 2 and 4 is located on both sides of the national border between Sudan and South Sudan. According to Leo, these blocks are yet to be definitively allocated to either country (2010, p. 44).

These are perhaps the most important oil producing areas because they produce Nile Blend crude oil which is among the best quality types of crude oil alongside the Malaysian Minas Blend (2010, p. 44). Both these crudes are traded in all international markets. The

problem is that, despite the high quality and marketability, these oil fields have declining output (Leo 2010, p. 44).

### **5.2.3 Health and Health Care**

The literature widely concurs, South Sudan's biggest challenge lies in the health of its people and healthcare for the entire population. According to Gluck (2011), "one in eight children die before their fifth birthday, the maternal mortality rate is one of the highest in the world and more than half the population lives below the poverty line". Southern Sudan currently has a unique combination of the worst diseases known to man. Ross observes that, "it sounds like a place stricken by a biblical plague - disease after unimaginable disease, all come to rest in one pitiful region of a vast African country" (2004, p. 1).

While Ross concedes that some of the devastating diseases in South Sudan are also found in different parts of the world, mainly "the world's poorest places", these diseases are only experienced simultaneously in South Sudan. After 20 years of working as an Africa-based public health specialist for the World Bank, Francois Decaillet pointed out that, "this really is the forgotten front line when it comes to health" and that "South Sudan is one of the poorest and most neglected areas on Earth, with possibly the worst health situation in the world" (2004, p. 4).

The popular press has carried pictures of malnourished children, pest-infested populations, hundreds of starving people and piles of dead bodies in South Sudan, owing to the numerous uncontrollable diseases. It is appalling that "even by African standards" South Sudan's healthcare is underdeveloped (2004, p. 6).

Advances in modern medicine have not yet transformed the lives of the South Sudanese and their access to conventional medicine is dependent on the limited foreign aid they had relied on during the decades of war. Ross observes that, "there is, in essence, no

health care system and humanitarian groups provide nearly all the doctors and medicine” (2004, p. 5).

Currently, South Sudan has only three qualified surgeons serving an area of 204,800 square kilometers, three hospitals of considerable capacity, and a single doctor for more than 500,000 people. The WHO estimates that between six and eight million South Sudanese are in urgent need of health care.

The most serious killer diseases in the region are malnutrition, diarrhoea, malaria and a host of respiratory infections (such as pneumonia), a common combination in Africa but one that is critical in South Sudan. In recent times, HIV/AIDS has also become a major threat to the Sudanese population.

As Ross observes, “what's unique is that southern Sudan has the double burden of those illnesses as well as a number of ghastly tropical diseases that have been stamped out in most of the world” (2004, p. 5). The country is riddled with exotic diseases such as the deadly Ebola virus (first identified in South Sudan and Zaire), as well as the nodding syndrome (a newly discovered deadly condition common in children and only identified in South Sudan).

What makes South Sudan such an extreme case is the combination of health threatening factors. Geographically, the country is flat and prone to frequent floods. Environmentally, it suffers droughts, pest infestations and water shortages. This combination is made worse by long-running civil conflicts, a non-existent healthcare system; the isolation of most of the population, high levels of poverty and a rare mix of exotic disease (Ross 2004, p. 5).

All these factors have produced a health calamity found nowhere else on earth. While the new government is trying to establish a health care system, South Sudan is still far from overcoming its health problems. Dr. Nevio Zagaria, a WHO expert on neglected diseases,

points out that most of the health conditions currently flourishing in South Sudan have been eradicated in the rest of the world.

This means that, “even if doctors could reach the people of southern Sudan, many of their diseases are untreatable (and) there isn't much of a market for drugs to treat obscure illnesses in a poor country, so medicine makers have little to offer” (Ross 2004, p. 6).

A good example of this predicament is the Guinea worm disease. In 2004, more than 80% of global cases of Guinea worm disease were recorded in South Sudan. Another example is the African trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) which is lethal when untreated. While the disease has been eradicated from the continent since the 1960s, thousands of South Sudanese die from it each year.

Other similar and fatal conditions that are currently found only in South Sudan include visceral leishmaniasis and Buruli ulcer. The challenge for the new South Sudan government will be to source adequate medicines for these rare conditions, fund nationwide healthcare programs from scratch, initiate preventative and immunization programs and educate the public on hygiene. This will require significant financial resources, goodwill, political stability, international support, a huge number of expatriate healthcare personnel and long-term strategic planning.

#### **5.2.4 Human Capital: Education and Manpower Development**

The last paragraph of the previous section highlighted the fact that to overcome some of the most pressing challenges facing South Sudan, the country needs to develop its human capital in order to ensure adequate manpower to run vital public services. It was noted that South Sudan only has three surgeons, that a single doctor attends to 500,000 people and that eight million South Sudanese are in dire need of healthcare. It is clear that South Sudan will have to rely on expatriate healthcare personnel while it educates its own doctors.

Indeed, one of the greatest challenges facing South Sudan in its progress towards development and self-sustenance is the lack of skilled manpower. There is a shortage of people to take up positions and responsibilities in the new civil service and the private sector. Even with adequate resources, the nation lacks people to transform these resources into national development.

Flick (2011) points out that, “when that party ends, South Sudan must face grim realities: it will be one of the most underdeveloped countries on the planet, only 15 percent of its citizens can read and fears of renewed conflict abound” (p. 2). Furthermore, there are concerns that millions of South Sudan refugees who have been educated in other countries and who would be expected to return to build their nation, will be unwilling to do so if recent recurrences of conflict continue.

Even if the South Sudan refugees were to return home, bringing with them vital nation-building skills and expertise, this would be a short-term solution to the country’s current manpower needs. Similarly, hiring expatriates with the relevant skills would also be a temporary measure that cannot be maintained. The government of South Sudan needs to put adequate long-term measures in place to develop its own human capital through education. However, this is no easy task. Sommers and Schwartz (2011) note that “most South Sudanese youth are undereducated and underemployed, and their priorities and perspectives are largely unknown”. Therefore, not only does the country’s youth lack vital skills, it also not clear whether it is possible to educate them (p. 1).

Sommers and Schwartz conducted an empirical study to determine South Sudan youths’ priorities and preferences, with a view to establishing the potential to educate the youth population to take up positions in the new government and provide critical labour in developing the country.

They conducted extensive two-month field research (unstructured interviews) during April and May in 2011 among a sample of adults, youth, NGO staff and government officials in Juba (the capital city) and two other South Sudanese states (2011, p. 1). Sommers and Schwartz found that traditions and social expectations among the South Sudanese might hamper the youth's acceptance of the need for education.

The study found that, "the increasing inability of male youth to meet rising dowry (bride price) demands was the main research finding (and) unable to meet these demands, many male youth enlist in militias, join cattle raids, or seek wives from different ethnic groups or countries" (2011, p. 1).

In the past few decades, dowry demands have increased steeply as the war reduced the number of eligible women. This has negatively affected young women as they have become commoditized. Families regard their girl children as property and as a means of generating wealth (Sommers and Schwartz 2011, p. 1).

Some families' main economic activity involves producing as many girls as possible and marrying them off at the first available opportunity, sometimes before these girls have even reached their teens. This practice has become common place in South Sudan. However, the youthful population that is returning home from foreign countries, Khartoum and the many refugee-asylum nations do not subscribe to this practice (Sommers and Schwartz 2011, p. 1).

The different identities among the nation's youth are said to be causing conflict and hostility. It is worrying that due to these cultural practices, most of which have been forced on the people by the decades of conflict and the desire to survive, are not only creating discord amongst the youth, but also preventing many youths that have already been exposed to education in their asylum nations from returning home (Sommers and Schwartz 2011, p. 1).



This means that very few of South Sudan's youth are ready and/or willing to engage in education. Girls are kept out of school because they are married off by the age of 10. This creates significant challenges to South Sudan's efforts to prepare its population to take up key responsibilities in nation-building in the long term.

In the short term, it is also worth noting that despite the acute lack of skilled labor and the low prospects of educated youth in the country, there is still very high demand for government jobs. This is due to the fact that the government structure is only now being created.

There are currently very few opportunities available in the few roles that the government has already created. The high demand for, but limited supply of jobs creates further problems. The few that seek education and/or to use the skills acquired in key government jobs lack the motivation to pursue such opportunities.

Sommers and Schwartz explain that "excess demand on government jobs, widespread reports of nepotism in government hiring practices, cultural restrictions against many kinds of work, and a general lack of entrepreneurial vision are fuelling an exceptionally challenging youth employment situation" (2011, p. 2).

The net effect of these limitations and challenges is a worrying trend among the country's youth. Gang activities, juvenile delinquency and violent crimes thrive in all major South Sudan towns. Most urban centres are home to millions of orphans and youth with diverse connections to the few government officials. The population is thus a breeding zone for crime and violent tendencies.

As noted earlier, Sommers and Schwartz found that undereducated youths' primary concern is making enough money to pay a dowry, not going to school or engaging in entrepreneurship (2011, p. 2). This means that besides providing education opportunities for

the youth, South Sudan must also aim to change social values, traditions and perceptions of education and beneficial engagements.

### **5.2.5 Ethnic Tension and Tribal Animosity**

Unlike Sudan, South Sudan has a rich share of different ethnic groups and cultures. While Sudan is a largely Muslims nation with the majority of its population speaking Arabic, South Sudan has no dominant ethnic group or culture (Copnall 2011b, p. 3).

South Sudan is home to a whopping 200 different ethnic groups with the Nuers and the Dinkas being slightly larger than the rest (Copnall 2011b, p. 3). Each group speaks its own languages, prescribes to either Islam or Christianity and has distinct traditional cultures and beliefs (Copnall 2011b, p. 3).

The major ethnic groups in South Sudan include the Acholi, Anuak, Azande, Bari, Bongo, Bviri, Didinga, Dinka, Dungotona, Kakwa, Kuku, Landi, Lango, Mandari, Murle, Ndogo and Shilluk, listed alphabetically. The Government of South Sudan's official website notes that, the indigenous people of South Sudan are categorized broadly into three distinct groups, namely, the Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and the South-Western Sudanic groups. These groups have numerous ethnic sub-groups as shown in the following table:

Table 1: A Summary of the Indigenous People of South Sudan

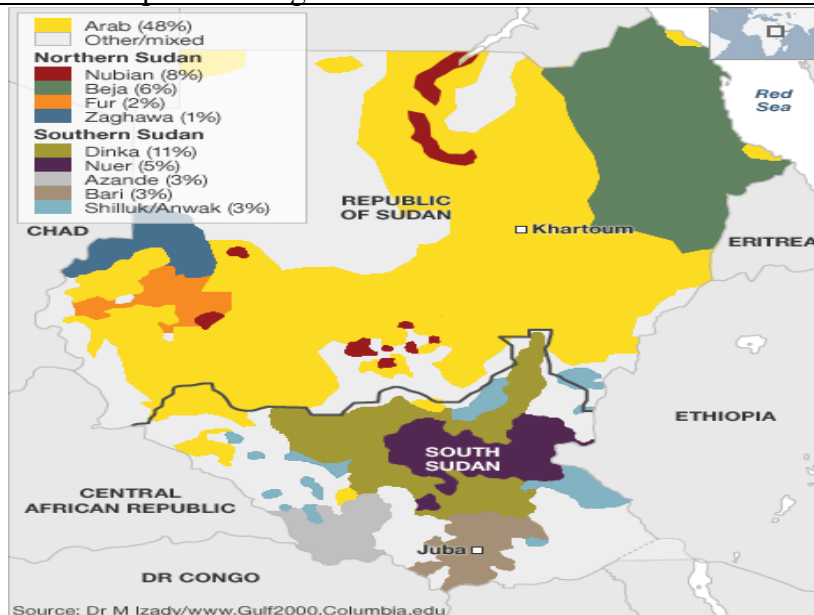
Major Ethnic Group	Nilotic Peoples			Nilo-Hamitic Peoples	South-Western Sudanic Peoples
Ethnic Subgroups	Dinka	Shilluk	Nuer	Bari	Kresh
	Ajaa	Murle	Apaak	Nyangwara	Makaraka
	Otuho	Kachiopo	Pari	Latuko	Avukaya
	Lango	Anyuak	Atuot	Lokoya	Baka
	Agar	Acholi	Hopi	Pojulu	Mundu
	Forugi	Khara	Ngorgule	Kakwa	Murus
	Bango	Siri	Endri	Mundari	Madi
	Forgee	Gulu	Maban	Toposa	Balanda
	Bai	Ndogo	Zandi	Buya	Olubo
	Guere	Jie	Ciec	Lopit	Zande
	Gok	Chod (Jur)	Benga	Kuku	Banda
	Kuma	Lou (Jur)	Pakam	Kakwa	Ndogo
	Aliap			Nyabgwara	
				Tennet	
				Lopit	
				Didinga	
(Source: Government of South Sudan 2012, pp. 7 – 15)					

There are three major religions in South Sudan: Christianity, Muslim and animism (2011, p. 27). English is South Sudan's official language, with many other languages spoken

by various sub-populations, including standard Arabic, Juba variants of Arabic, and Sudanese variants of Arabic, Dinka, Zande, Nuer, Shilluk and Bari.

Ethnic diversity can and should be viewed as a unique and largely positive attribute of a country. Unfortunately, this is a challenge for South Sudan and one the new country has to contend with, especially in trying to forge national unity, national identity and harmonious coexistence. Unlike Sudan, where Islam is a religious and cultural unifying force, South Sudan will have to build a nation with a diverse set of cultures, religions and ethnicities. Numerous scholars have linked the protracted civil war to the country's ethnic-based rivalries and many still believe that ethnic tensions might be the most critical trigger of the recurrence of conflict (Berghof Foundation for Peace Support 2006, pp. 4- 5).

**Figure 3: A Map Illustrating the Ethnic Constitution of South Sudan**



While ethnic diversity is not a problem as such, it does trigger conflict. Southern Sudan was ruled on basis of ethnic communities both by the colonial and the Khartoum administrations. South Sudanese were discriminated against and divided along tribal lines, translating to enormous disparities. According to Berghof Foundation for Peace Support (2006), “the protracted conflict in Sudan reflects the long standing economic disparities, political exclusion and social and cultural deprivation in the distribution of political and

economic power between the centre and the peripheries” (p. 5). South Sudan is currently dominated by tribal animosity and ethnic hostilities carried over from the years of conflict. Nation-building must therefore begin by addressing these hostilities and animosity, since they fuel civil conflict.

The fact that South Sudan has come so far five years after decades of civil war is wholly attributable to the collective will and cooperation of different communities. Similarly, the nation’s future will be defined by its collective will and cohesive efforts. As Osman points out, “current changes took place due to the efforts of several groups including the knowledge and business communities, nongovernmental organizations, and peace related sectors, all of whom consolidated the collective will to attempt to resolve decades of conflict peacefully and make the process of transition from war to peace irreversible” (2010, p. 1).

According to this scholar, the future of South Sudan is “largely contingent on the sustainability and support of these collective efforts”, although stakeholders should recognize the ethnic challenges posed by “the uniqueness and complexities of the situation” (2004, p. 1). Rather than ignore and or suppress ethnic diversity, South Sudan must strive to build central ground from which different communities can work together to build their nation.

Nation-building should replace previous hostilities and tensions and collective responsibilities should be pursued in mutual consensus. Osman (2010) postulates that new hope will emerge in South Sudan as “soldiers lay down their arms, farmers begin to rehabilitate and replenish their beloved and long-deserted lands, children return to schools, businesses welcome another chance at success and every aspect of life profoundly changes” (p. 1).

The nation-building challenge that confronts South Sudan is retaining this new cohesiveness and allowing different communities to embrace peace and development, rather than violently pursuing bipartisan interests.

### **5.2.6 Equitable Distribution of Wealth**

The conflict largely originated in the grievances of the marginalized and the oppressed populations, who felt they had a claim to their region's national resources. The Berghof Foundation for Peace Support notes that, "the root causes of the communal inter- and intra-tribal and ethnicized regional conflicts in Sudan could be seen in the competition over meagre and dwindling natural resources and political power positions ... such as in Darfur's ... interlinkages and reinforcement of communal, inter-tribal conflicts over access to resources and the national conflict about power and wealth sharing" (2006, p. 6).

A similar trend can emerge in the new South Sudan if such marginalization persists. Civil conflict almost always ensues when a marginalized and oppressed population feels that their plight is not being addressed and there are no avenues for redress.

Osman (2010) observes that the South Sudan peace process has shown "remarkable progress through a vast inter-communal participatory process with contributions from all constituencies of Sudanese society" (p. 1).

Osman's (2010) study investigated the role of state and non-state actors in the transformation process as South Sudan seeks to build a new nation. Using face-to-face interviews and first-hand observation, Osman (2010) found that the only way to make peace irreversible and sustainable is to ensure that resources are equitably shared and distributed and that people benefit from working together (p. 1).

The former Sudan inherited a highly centralized colonial governance system that was largely authoritarian. The country has always experienced uneven resource distribution, marginalization and imbalanced regional development. These structural elements formed the foundation of the subsequent evolution of the Sudanese state, including southern Sudan.

The South's long suffering was largely due to its opposition to marginalization and segregation by the Khartoum regime, despite being the basket of the country's resources. The

Berghof Foundation for Peace Support (2006) explains that “these factors are mutually reinforcing, since in authoritarian systems economic and social development is often dependent on political leverage and access to political power (and consequently), without political backing, marginalized groups and regions have only limited access to social and economic services and institutions” (p. 7).

It is therefore very important that South Sudan’s nation-building efforts embrace the need for a more representative and democratic governance system that can facilitate cohesion in this diverse society.

The new form of governance must create an equitable space for “multidimensional social, political, administrative and financial state reform strategy at national, regional and local levels” that resolves current conflicts, addresses historical injustices and builds a future based on wealth and power sharing (Berghof Foundation for Peace Support 2006, p. 8). It will also be important to decentralize governance structures and to empower local communities through structural capacity building and equal representation.

#### **5.2.7 Jurisdiction and Boundaries versus Shared Resources**

One of the major problems facing the newest state in the world is jurisdictional conflicts with Sudan. Copnall pointed out that, “the situation up and down the border seems to be getting worse, just four months after South Sudan became independent” (2011a, p. 9).

A good example is the dispute between the two nations over control of the territory of Abyei that “remains unresolved, though it has been in the hands of the Sudanese Armed Forces since May” (Copnall 2011a, p. 10). Reporting for the BBC from Bentiu, South Sudan, Copnall pointed out that South Sudan was entering a “dangerous new phase in Sudan-South Sudan relations” (2011a, p. 1).

This was after the bombing of a refugee camp in Yida. Khartoum (Sudan’s capital) denied having been behind the bombing although Juba (South Sudan’s capital) was

convinced that the Sudanese Air Force was responsible. Despite recent developments in attempts to secure peace, Sudan and South Sudan still seem to harbour a predisposition to conflict.

Copnall argued that, “the war of words has come a step closer to a genuine conflict, in the tense lands either side of the still not completely defined new international frontier” (2011a, p. 3). The report also noted that several murders had been reported the following day subsequent to a similar aerial bombardment alongside the Upper Nile region of South Sudan. It can be argued that despite the liberation of the South from the North, the Sudanese people are still prone to returning to what Salva Kiir, South Sudan's President referred to as “a meaningless war” (Copnall 2011a, p. 4).

On 22 April 2012, the BBC, CNN and other cable networks reported that eight people had been killed in Abyei and scores of others injured when Sudan armed forces under orders from President Bashir invaded the oil-rich region to flush out South Sudanese forces. Bashir visited the region on 23 April 2012, a day after the South withdrew from the region, as if to confirm that they were willing and ready to go on the offensive. UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon condemned the attacks and noted that this border aggression might trigger renewed conflict between the two, now independent states.

Following recent events, it is questionable whether the South and the North are willing to engage in civilized dialogue to reach consensus and move forward in a spirit of mutual neighbourliness. This is evident in the continued blame game between the two nation's leadership and their behind-the-scenes manoeuvring against each other. In a recent BBC news item, Copnall reported that after a series of attacks on South Sudan, allegedly by Sudan, the new nation's government held a press conference in Juba (Copnall 2011a, p. 6).

The government postulated that Omar al-Bashir, Sudan's president, was covertly supporting rebels to attack South Sudan territories, especially those near the oilfields such as



in Upper Nile and Unity State (Copnall 2011a, p. 6). Sudan denied the accusations and accused South Sudan of supporting the rebels to attack its northern states such as Blue Nile and South Kordofan (Copnall 2011a, p. 7).

The consequences and implications of such territorial conflicts were only too clear as South Sudan embraced its new found freedom. As Copnall reported, "... if Sudan did bomb several places in South Sudan it is now operating militarily across an international border, an extremely serious act (and further), the same judgment would apply if South Sudan was found to be supporting SPLM-North rebels in Blue Nile and South Kordofan" (2011a, pp.12 - 14).

As accusations and counter accusations continue an outsider might well wonder when the two nations will heal, and when the region will turn its back on war and embrace peace. Copnall points out that, "it is very hard to prove any of the competing claims, but the impact of the fighting on people is clear to see", citing limbless six-year olds whose misfortune was to live in a territory filled with landmines (2011a, p. 8).

If South Sudan is to build a future as an independent nation, it must overcome the challenge of its territorial conflict with Sudan. However, reaching amicable and mutual understanding on the key conflict areas will be a daunting task. Copnall notes that, "president Kiir has made it clear he will not let South Sudan return to war, but the increased tension cannot help the on-going negotiations on post-secession matters, and the situation could potentially degenerate much further still (due to) failure to ... secure a meaningful solution for the areas of Abyei, South Kordofan and Blue Nile" (2011a, p.18).

Figure 4: A Map Showing Regions Where Jurisdictional Conflicts are Still Frequent between Sudan and South Sudan



The most common explanation in the literature for the continued border conflicts between Sudan and South Sudan is shared resources. As noted previously, by the time South Sudan gained independence from Sudan, the two nations were mutually dependent in resource exploitation. This remains a thorny issue in the delicate peace between these two nations.

As Fick wrote in 2011, “a major undercurrent is the fight for the oil that lies near the north-south border – oil that South Sudan gains and Khartoum loses, though for now the South’s crude can reach the world market only by moving through the North’s pipelines” (p. 14). Another major problem is that, while most of the active and potential oilfields are located in South Sudan, it cannot exploit this vital resource because all the export pipelines, refineries and the Red Sea export terminal are located in the North (Shankleman 2011, p. 1).

South Sudan halted all oil production activities at the beginning of February 2012 after a standoff between the two governments on how to share oil revenues. Although the two

national economies are heavily dependent on oil, the government of South Sudan has sworn to keep the north-owned pipelines dry until they can complete construction of their own pipeline through Kenya to the Indian Ocean coastline.

This perhaps explains why April 2012 was marked by numerous standoffs and confrontations between the two countries concerning key oil-rich areas on the border. Shankleman (2011) points out that although the two governments agreed to share control of the major oil revenue and resources as part of the 2005 CPA, it has never been precisely determined how they will divide the industry or its revenue, or the exact border between the oil fields of the two nations (p. 1). 2012 witnessed numerous standoffs between the two countries, coming very close to a full-scale war between May and June. A June 2012 agreement provided for South Sudan to use but pay for the use of Sudan's pipelines, based on the volume traded on a daily basis (BBC 2012, p. 6). However, following several border conflicts, it is unclear how long this agreement will stand (BBC 2012, p. 6).

To understand the problems that South Sudan faces with regard to border disputes and resource sharing with Sudan, it is important to review recent developments in one of the contested regions. The Abyei region is situated at the centre of the current conflict between South Sudan and Sudan and is one of the six trouble spots with a shared past and potentially a shared future between the two states. Analysts have described Abyei's fate as "an intractable conflict".

According to Sansculotte-Greenidge, "the stalemate in the region has shown itself capable of pushing the two sides to full scale conflict as witnessed on 21 May 2011 when the Sudan Armed Forces launched a coordinated attack on South Sudanese military personnel in the contested region of Abyei". According to Khartoum, the assault was launched after South Sudanese forces attacked and killed 22 SAF soldiers. Following the aggression, President

Omar Bashir unilaterally dissolved the then Joint North-South Abyei Administration. This move was unconstitutional and did much to inflame already worrying tensions in the region.

This is one of many conflict-inflating occurrences in Abyei since South Sudan gained independence and is a common feature of the interaction between the North and the South. As argued by Sansculotte-Greenidge, “the current crisis emerges in large part from the intransigence of the parties and the inability of the international community to convince the Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement that they can prevent further renegeing on agreed issues by the National Congress Party”.

The Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement is the dominant political party in the Government of South Sudan in Juba, while the National Congress Party is the dominant party in the Government of Sudan in Khartoum. Experts have expressed concern since Abyei should be the least troublesome of the six contested areas in Sudan-South Sudan border disputes.

Even more trouble is expected when the two nations begin negotiations for the Kafia Kinga region which was unilaterally transferred to Darfur in 1960, and which has greater resource potential than Abyei.

Furthermore, the precedent set by Abyei in areas such as Safaha (that was transferred to Darfur from Bahr al Ghazal in 1923), Renk, Magenis and Kaka regions, all of whose borders were changed by Khartoum’s successive governments during the civil war signifies the fragility of South Sudan-Sudan border disputes. South Sudan now lays strong claim to these regions.

The government of Sudan wants to keep Abyei at all costs; South Sudan pursues this ambition with similar enthusiasm. According to Sansculotte-Greenidge “it is clear that the Government of Sudan hopes to use Abyei as a bargaining chip in their negotiations with South Sudan over other unrelated issues” such as “transferring Abyei to the South by

presidential decree if the 50-50 wealth sharing deal related to oil in the entire South is extended for another 10 years – something that the South is unwilling to consider at this point in time”.

It is evident that controversies over national borders and sharing resources will continue to pose problems for South Sudan in its nation-building quest. Unless these conflicts are permanently settled with Sudan, nation-building efforts will not bear fruit, since “resources have driven instability and will continue to shape the political, social and economic character of the state in the independence era” (Crisis Group Africa 2011, p. 7).

#### **5.2.8 Continued Conflict and the Permanent Bruises of Past Conflicts**

Rarely do years of conflict and tribal animosity end due to a single positive event. By gaining the independence that was the very purpose of decades of civil conflict, South Sudan is not yet past the days of conflict. There are many bruises, some of which will never heal in the post-conflict period. Having fought for decades, it will be hard for some factions in Sudan and South Sudan to embrace peaceful coexistence.

Also, the processes of nation-building are often connected with conflict transformation processes. The concept of ‘conflict transformation’ is a relatively new idea within the broader field of conflict and peace studies. As a relatively new domain, it is still in a process of defining, shaping, and creating terminology. During the 1990s a number of theorists (Galtung, 1995; Rupesinghe, 1995; Schwerin, 1995; Spencer and Spencer, 1995; Väyrynen, 1991) have facilitated the solidification of what is called “a shift” toward conflict transformation in the language used in the field and practice of peace research and conflict resolution.

The country is in great need of reconciliation and national healing; otherwise some factions may feel the need to continue fighting to address their bruises and grudges. There is a nexus between national healing and building of a nation. The relationship between the two

phenomena is clear and obvious in the case of South Sudan. Inspired by the recent on-going highly applauded by the public, it is essential to recognize the efforts by H. E. Comrade President Salva Kiir Mayardit who managed to pave way for a more efficient national army, which has been highly welcomed. There is no doubt that the national army must be a professional one and with relatively new and competent trained forces. Equally important, the RSS government leadership and policy making processes are needed to look into the other organized security organs; the police and the judiciary to truly reflect both competence and the good versatile qualified professionals. The same applies to the executive in the various ministries, national commissions such as the Anti-Corruption, etc., as well as the varied arms of the government, such as revenue authorities, financial institutions and many more. It is imperative that a monopoly will only breed resentment and the latter will only breed discontent and disharmony leading to stagnation and or chaos. The process of healing tries to avert that by ensuring the development of a healthier nation. According to Fick, recurrence of violence ranging from hostile cattle raids to rebel battles had already claimed 2,400 lives by July 2011. There are still seven rebel militias operating in South Sudan and as many in the North (Fick 2011, p. 9).

These remnants explain why northern and southern troops were still facing off in some of the most contested regions such as Abyei (the South's) and Southern Kordofan (the North's), almost a year into independence (Fick 2011, p. 10). Many of the factions involved in the fight for independence may still pursue old grudges.

Restoring hope, peace, harmony and co-existence between the formerly warring functions will not be attained by further peace talks, but by addressing the development needs of the people. Only progressive social-economic development and political stability can guarantee that the animosities of the past are forgotten and that the people of South Sudan can forge a better future in national unity. This reality is evident to a former child soldier,

currently aged 30, who expressed pessimism about South Sudan's future: "a lot of work needs to be done by the government; otherwise things will be like they were before" (Fick 2011, p. 7). As noted earlier, the literature shows that civil conflict almost always ensures when certain communities feel aggrieved and have no other avenues to address such grievances. The years of conflict have aggrieved many parties in South Sudan, and if peace and independence fail to address these bruises, violence will be inevitable.

Such war-inflicted bruises include devastating poverty and poor health among most South Sudanese. According to Gluck (2011), "one in eight children die before their fifth birthday, the maternal mortality rate is one of the highest in the world and more than half the population lives below the poverty line (and) against a backdrop of chronic under-development, the country is acutely vulnerable to recurring conflict and climatic shocks" (p. 3).

In 2009, more than 220,000 South Sudanese were displaced due to continued conflict, and 100,000 had lost their livelihoods and homes to floods. In 2010, more than 300,000 South Sudanese were displaced from their homes due to fighting within the disputed border areas as the SPLA crashed with militia groups and Sudanese forces over cattle and land.

Presently, "the situation is exacerbated by a continuing influx of returnees, restricted movement across the northern border, high fuel prices and regional shortages in food stocks" (Gluck 2011, p. 3).

Gluck (2011) concludes by postulating that, "South Sudan is a context that challenges normal development paradigms and fits awkwardly in the humanitarian relief–recovery–post-conflict development continuum". Such conditions do not auger well for South Sudan's nation-building efforts. It is clear that the country is confronted by immense and complex challenges, chief among which is to address the urgent needs of its people who are just emerging from a debilitating conflict.

### **5.2.9 Africa's Deadliest Heritage: A Culture of Social Dysfunction and Conflict**

The people of South Sudan have endured immense tribulations, especially in the last 20 years of civil conflict. As the Government of Sudan battled the SPLA, over two million lives were lost to famine, violence and diseases. Another 600,000 civilians were forced to seek asylum in neighbouring countries, while a staggering four million were displaced within Sudan.

In the past few decades, the Sudanese have become the world's largest internally displaced population. Indeed, "as of 2008, the UN estimated that nearly 2 million displaced people had returned to Southern Sudan and the three areas of Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile, and Abyei following the 2005 signing of the CPA" (Crisis Group Africa 2011, p. 3).

Recent conflicts have worsened what was already a tragic situation. In 2009, inter-ethnic conflicts in Upper Nile, Lakes and the Jonglei states left over 2,000 people dead and another 250,000 displaced. The same year, the UN reported that LRA had displaced more than 85,000 Southern Sudanese, which included more than 18,000 refugees from the Central African Republic and Congo. The independence currently celebrated by South Sudan has clearly come at a great cost. Quoting a road sign in 2011, Fick wrote that, for the people of South Sudan, "it took a combination of bullets and ballots to attain hard-earned independence" (2011, p. 5). The cost has been borne by children, women and men, as well as the country's resources, ecosystems and infrastructure.

Writing about the challenges facing South Sudan, Fick (2011) observed that, "the people of South Sudan finally get their own country on Saturday, an emotional independence celebration few thought possible during a half century of civil wars and oppression that left more than 2 million dead" (p. 1). However, the country's history will always be tainted by decades of war. Indeed, "the legacy of war still shapes political realities in South Sudan" (Crisis Group Africa 2011, p. 3). As Fick points out, "the young government faces the



massive challenges of reforming its bloated and often predatory army ... and deciding how political power will be distributed among the dozens of ethnic and military factions” (Fick 2011, p. 18).

The Crisis Group Africa 2011 report observed that, “both wounds and veiled allegiances remain, the legacy of this era and they continue to influence the politics, and instability, of the present” (p. 4). This heritage causes serious problems and challenges, some of which are still unfolding. This is explained very well by the Crisis Group Africa in their recent report on South Sudan. The report postulates that:

Some problems have festered for years, while more recent developments – prompted by the partition of the “old” Sudan – have exacerbated instability and intensified resource pressure. Recent rebel militia activity has drawn considerable attention to the state, highlighting internal fractures and latent grievances. But the fault lines run deeper than the rebellions. A governance crisis – with a national subtext – has polarized state politics and sown seeds of discontent. Territorial disputes, cross-border tensions, economic isolation, development deficits and a still tenuous North-South relationship also fuel instability, each one compounding the next amid a rapidly evolving post-independence environment (Crisis Group Africa 2011, p. 3).

Of greater significance is the fact that the fabric of the society and the social institutions that are vital to unite the community have been totally destroyed. South Sudanese aged up to 50 years have largely been born into and lived during civil conflict and most may not know how to live without a gun. According to Grande, head of South Sudan’s UN humanitarian operations, “you don’t get the kind of statistics you have in Southern Sudan if you’re not dealing with years of marginalization ... it is their legacy, it is the price that these people have paid ... someone who could be my daughter has a higher chance of dying in

childbirth than finishing school ... that says everything you need to know about Southern Sudan” (Fick 2011, p. 16).

At the heart of the problem is that South Sudan stopped existing as a society many years ago, when war took over and law and order was lost. The Crisis Group Africa 2011 report concurs with this argument and further posts that, “the dispute at the heart of the state’s body politic is partly linked to broader national politics, the unreconciled legacies of a long and divisive war, and fundamental questions of identity and ethnic competition” (p. 5).

The economy, political structures and social harmony were burnt in the flames of civil strife. As the Crisis Group Africa (2011) aptly states, “situated abreast multiple frontiers, South Sudan’s political, social, economic and security dilemmas make for a perfect storm” (p. 3). When a society is in such discord, almost all elements of nationality are lost.

In a region such as the Unity State lying between the South-North border, and endowed with most of South’s known oil deposits war has had the most negative effects. Experts agree that “its subterranean resources made it a centerpiece in Sudan’s civil war, its people, land, and social fabric were devastated by two decades of conflict that pitted national forces, border-area proxies, Southern rebels and its own ethnic Nuer clans against one another” (Crisis Group Africa 2011, p. 5). South Sudan will have to rebuild the nation from scratch, beginning by establishing the ties that hold a society together at the grassroots, all the way up to national government.

Also, South Sudan is required to deal with significant challenges to resource constraints. As the foregoing discussion must suggest, oil deposits cannot satisfy the state demand for profit and consumption of energy. The key challenges to resource constraints require from the government of South Sudan to make one of several choices, such as (a) mitigation of resource consumption, (b) toleration of resource consumption, or (3) relocation of resource consumption.

From 2005, Southern Sudan was fully focused on the national issues of peace and secession. Primary concerns included the implementation of the CPA as a means of ending the civil war, managing the volatile relations with the North, conducting a referendum to determine the independence of the southern region and negotiating a feasible relationship with Khartoum.

Since gaining independence, Southerners have focused on uniting their new country. All other aspirations, grievances and interests have been shelved. However, the focus is now shifting “to the latent political, security, social and economic stabilization agenda at home” (Crisis Group Africa 2011, p. 3).

#### **5.2.10 Infrastructure Development**

South Sudan has to launch its development path by initiating infrastructure installations, rather than increasing or improving them, since almost none exist. It is to be expected that the decades of war have left none of the former infrastructure in place. As Othieno (2008) points out, “in many fragile societies, the state-building process is a violent one, leading to human tragedy and the destruction of infrastructure” (p. 2).

Fick points out that, “despite the South’s oil wealth, the Texas-sized region has only about 30 miles of paved road” (2011, p. 15). Foreigners who attended the inauguration ceremony as South Sudan marked its Independence Day received a government advisory to remind them that Juba (South Sudan’s capital) does not have any operational credit card processing facilities (Fick 2011, p. 16).

Lise Grande the head of South Sudan’s UN humanitarian operations, recently said that “the country is one of the most underdeveloped on the planet with only 15 percent of the population being able to read, most people living on less than a \$1 a day, and health and education facilities being sorely underdeveloped” (Fick 2011, p.16). This data is collaborated by the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMSS 2011, p. 31).

### **5.2.11 The Folly of the International Community**

There are many instances in which the international community has been criticized for errors of omission or commission, in their response to national civil conflicts. In Rwanda, the international community failed to recognize an evident genocide until it was too late. The UN removed its peacekeeping force, leaving millions of civilians at the mercy of an organized tribal cleansing program.

Most of the developed world removed their nationals from Rwanda. Foreign nationals were air-lifted under heavy guard while millions of Rwandese women and children were abandoned at airports to be slaughtered. By the time the international community realized its mistake, it was too late for Rwanda. Fortunately, similar blame cannot be placed on the international community with regard to Sudan.

Nonetheless, the evidence shows that the international community helped fuel the conflict in Sudan from 1955. This mainly took the form of bipartisan support for the rebels and successive administrations. The introductory chapter discussed how Uganda, Egypt, Russia, the US, Britain and several other nations supported certain factions at various times.

By giving arms and supplies to various factions in the conflict, foreign nations helped fuel the Sudan conflict. Such occurrences were common before and after the UN enforced an arms embargo on Sudan, requiring that no country should supply or trade arms with Sudan and the Sudanese rebels. However, this line of thinking is a sensitive political debate that often fails to conceptualize the root problem.

For the present study, what was of greater significance was how the international community as a whole, rather than the individual self-interest of states, participated in, responded to and helped the South Sudan cause over the years. Temin and Murphy (2011) postulate that, “approaches to Sudan’s challenges by both Sudanese and the international community have been fragmented and regionally focused rather than national in scope”.

Much foreign assistance to the larger Sudan during the conflict took the form of aid during famines, negotiating cease-fires and facilitating dialogue between various factions. While this helped save lives and limit the severity of the conflict, experts have argued that the international community has always failed to provide a comprehensive, permanent solution to the Sudan problem.

In most cases, the international community overlooked the “fundamental governance challenges at the roots of Sudan’s decades of instability and the centre of the country’s economic and political dominance of the periphery, which marginalizes a majority of the population” (2011, p. 1).

By providing piecemeal solutions to the people of Sudan, the international community triggered further fragmentation of the fighting factions and diffused efforts to eliminating periodic violent eruptions. In short, the international community failed to confront and address the identity and governance issues that underlay the South-North conflict from 1955.

Temin and Murphy offer a good example of the on-going negotiations in Darfur, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states that are facilitated by the international community. They maintain that these negotiations are contextual and limited in scope rather than being “subsumed into a national process aimed at addressing the root causes of Sudan’s governance failures, (since) even now the goal of these regional processes should be re-envisioned as steps toward a national process” (Temin and Murphy 2011).

However, it should be noted that the CPA was a product of the mediation and midwifery of the international community which hosted peace talks in Kenya. This was the first time that the international community attempted to provide a truly national solution to the conflict and it was a crucial beginning to the peace process currently under way. It also illustrates that had the international community pioneered similar solutions early enough, the South-North conflict could have been resolved earlier.

Scholars attribute the piecemeal efforts by the international community to preference for the Sudanese negotiations to be held between elites rather than between national representatives.

According to Temin and Murphy (2011), “negotiators often cannot claim genuine representativeness, resulting in lack of broad buy-in and minimal consultation with the wider population”. Nonetheless, the secession of the South and subsequent formation of the republic of South Sudan in July 2011 presented a rare opportunity for the two states to adopt a holistic, comprehensive and resolute approach to the series of governance problems that previously led to resurgences in violence. This is an “opportunity to initiate fundamental governance reform”, especially for South Sudan which for the very first time has an opportunity for self-determination and self-governance.

Various scholars have claimed that external actors such as foreign donors and international companies have forced change on South Sudan and Sudan as a pre-condition for assistance. Such external influences can be extremely counterproductive. Ideally, the international community should “support a reform process from without”, treading carefully so as not to impose.

According to Temin and Murphy (2011), “international efforts should focus on promoting an enabling environment” where nascent efforts led by the people of South Sudan are empowered to “take root and grow”. On this front, South Sudan has the benefit of widespread international goodwill, illustrated by how the international community welcomed and pledged support for its independence.

South Sudan became a member of the United Nations on 14 July 2011 in what has been referred to by experts as expedient international recognition. The Security Council established the UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) in July 2011 to consolidate peace and security and to help establish the conditions for development. South

Sudan has a unique opportunity to utilize this international goodwill to foster development, security and proper governance. This is perhaps the most crucial time for the country in that it needs bilateral assistance, logistical support, multilateral goodwill, donor funding and foreign aid to launch and sustain nation-building efforts. Most of the challenges confronting South Sudan, including education, health and infrastructure, will require strong international support.

On the other hand, the most important cross-border alliance that South Sudan should build is with its parent country, Sudan. The relationship with Sudan will determine whether or not South Sudan can maintain peace within its borders, whether it can focus resources on nation-building and whether future conflicts can be avoided.

Commendably, Sudan was the first state to recognize and express support for the independent South Sudan. This indicated Khartoum's willingness to start a new chapter. Since then, the Sudan and South Sudan governments have reached agreement on citizenship of their populations, including southerners currently residing in the north, as well as on the management principles and structure in the demilitarized border zone.

Unfortunately, several issues following the CPA have negatively affected mutual agreement between the two states. The most notable outstanding and post-CPA issues have included the management of oil revenues and resources and the status of contested regions such as Abyei. The US Department of State (2011) reports that, "although the boundaries of the Abyei area were defined through arbitration in The Hague in July 2009, and both Sudan and South Sudan accepted the arbitration decision, issues persist and the Abyei boundary has not been demarcated".

Recent conflicts between Sudan and South Sudan in these contested regions are unfortunate given that the Governments of South Sudan and Sudan signed a vital agreement in Addis Ababa on 29 June 2011, committing to cordial border security arrangements through

the establishment of a Safe Demilitarized Border Zone as well as the Joint Political and Security Mechanism. According to the US Department of State, “the agreement requested Ethiopian troops from the UN Interim Security Force in Abyei (UNISFA) to provide protection for international border monitors, and invited the African Union and UN to provide support for monitoring and verification within the border zone”. Recent border conflicts contravened this and previous agreements, something that needs to come to an end if the countries are to forge a peaceful future.

Sudan’s quest to continue exploiting the oil resources and revenues it has always robbed from the now independent South lie at the heart of this conflict. As noted by Temin and Murphy (2011), “lacking its previous oil revenues, the north cannot ignore the economic price of continuing or potentially starting new armed conflicts driven by the existing political dynamic”.

South Sudan cannot afford to be drawn into a war with Sudan again, especially now that its focus is on nation-building. The international community should discourage Sudan from aggressive attacks on the South, as it is evident that if international muscle fails to protect the South, there is a high chance that South Sudan may never realize the joy of being independent.

The South Sudan Economic Development Plan (2011-2013) prepared by the Government of South Sudan notes that, “as South Sudan is prone to recurrent crisis ... affecting critical food and income security of large segments of the population, support is indispensable for improving preparedness for, and effective response to, food and agricultural threats and emergencies”.

Like an already battered victim, South Sudan confronts immediate, critical emergencies and cannot be drawn into conflicts by the warring North. As both states continue to work through the contentious issues, the international community must remain actively



engaged and very vigilant of progress. It is especially important that the African Union High Level Implementation Panel (AUHIP) currently chaired by South Africa's former President, Thabo Mbeki plays an active role in mediating the settlement of the current border controversies between these two states.

### **5.2.12 The Gender Question**

South Sudan is currently among the most unequal societies in the world with regard to gender roles and gender positions. The literature shows that war mainly affects women and children. As South Sudan seeks to recover from decades of war, the nation's women are highly marginalized and oppressed, both socially and economically.

Ali (2011) points out that, "South Sudan's independence ends decades of conflict as well as socioeconomic and political marginalization at the hands of successive governments in Khartoum, which affected women in gender-specific ways" (p. 1). Women are still highly under-represented in the current administration, illiteracy rates are highest among women and women live under extreme poverty. These factors combine to create an environment where women have no opportunity for self-betterment politically, socially and economically.

Fortunately, "independence ... opens up opportunities for women's economic and social empowerment, ensuring that the new country's political and economic structures and institutions reflect commitments to women's participation and human rights" (Ali 2011, p. 1).

It is important that South Sudan commits to empowering women since only then, can the country strengthen and develop its political and economic institutions and structures. According to Ali, "international actors interested in South Sudan recognize that promoting gender equality and women's empowerment and addressing gender-based violence are key to maintaining peace and security and helping South Sudan's economy grow" (2011, p. 1). The country is fortunate in that, it has a great potential to develop its structures and institutions based on gender equality, respect for women's rights and the advancement of women's

interests from the start, rather than having to transform its structures and institutions at a later date, as most nations have done. South Sudan can start their nation-building based on principles of gender equality.

It is also promising that the country is relatively egalitarian, conventional in its legal approach, exposed to the influences of developed societies and free from religious extremism (Ali 2011, p. 1). Independence has created multiple opportunities for South Sudanese women and these opportunities should be appropriated from the inception of nation-building processes.

One such opportunity is to change gender norms, roles and positions from what they were during the years of conflict, war, famine and forced displacement, and usher in a new dawn of unlimited possibilities. Scholars have identified relative political support for pro-gender equality policies and practices in the current government as another key advantage (Ali 2011, p. 1).

Furthermore, there is increasing international commitment to gender equality and respect for women's rights, and South Sudan will be under the close scrutiny of the international community with regard to how it approaches gender issues (p. 2). These unique features can help the country to embrace a progressive approach to gender issues.

There are many relevant examples of women's political, social and economic inclusion in other African nations that South Sudan should learn from (Ali 2011, p. 2). There are also many African examples of how gender equality can be strengthened during the post-conflict reconstruction period. For instance, after months of conflict following a highly contested election, Kenya initiated political and constitutional reforms. Today, Kenya has one of the most equitable constitutions in the world. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda left Rwandan children and women in dire need of rescue.

Fortunately, the new administration prioritized women's participation in the social, political and economic spheres and Rwanda gradually became one of the most equitable societies in the world. Today, the Rwandan parliament has the highest and most effective level of women's representation in the world (Ali 2011, p. 2). Liberia is also another example. After years of civil conflict the country democratically elected the first female president in Africa. South Africa is yet another African nation that has excelled in gender equality, with "one of the most gender-sensitive constitutions in the world" (2011, p. 2).

In its few years of existence, South Sudan's government has explicitly expressed its commitment to equality between women and men as well as the equitable participation of women and men in all spheres (Ali 2011, p. 1). However, the future holds many challenges. To begin with, South Sudan is currently limited by a severe lack of infrastructure.

The country has "the worst human development indicators worldwide" due to decades of war. Conflict, poverty and the marginalization of women combine to create what are perhaps the worst social, economic and cultural practices against women, further compounding the effects of living in a grossly undeveloped world. Other factors that suppress gender equality in South Sudan currently include (Ali 2011, pp. 1 - 2):

- More urgent and pressing priorities for the nation as it stabilizes into independence after decades of conflict.
- Continued internal and external security threats.
- Illiteracy and a lack of education opportunities.
- The effects of frequent border conflicts.
- Ignorance, limited understanding and misinformation about gender equality.
- Inadequate skills among women to take up new responsibilities.
- Room for the abuse of women's rights.

- Disrupted and non-existent traditional social structures to represent and advocate women's interests.
- A tendency for communities to regard gender issues as being an illegitimate and alien concern that is not of primary concern to the government/society.
- Carryover tensions, trauma and the permanent bruises of the civil conflict.
- Acute levels of underdevelopment and devastating poverty.
- A section of the leadership that seeks to delegitimize all concerns for women's human rights and gender equality.

In its nation-building efforts, South Sudan must urgently and adequately address these challenges since women constitute a vital component of the social, political and economic fabric of a country, sometimes playing an even greater role in nation-building than men. South Sudanese women have a cardinal role to play in advancing the country's future.

As Ali argues, "the government of South Sudan, with the support of regional partners and the international community, should ensure that gender equality and women's rights are fully integrated into and are outcomes of state building" (2011, p. 2). Important in this regard is the requirement that gender equality as well as the equitable input of women and women's interest groups across the Republic of South Sudan should feature prominently in national planning, the establishment of the new country's governance structures and institutions, development of the constitution and implementation of policies and structures. In other words, South Sudan's nation-building efforts "should reflect commitments to gender equality and women's groups across South Sudan" (Ali 2011, p. 2).

In cognizance of these challenges, Ali recommends that, in order to promote gender equality in South Sudan, the government should (2011, pp. 1 - 3):

- a) Participate in and promote social awareness programs on gender equality and women's rights.
- b) Involve women and women's interest groups at all levels of decision making through equitable representation.
- c) Initiate and adequately finance the South Sudan Ministry of Gender, Child, and Welfare.
- d) Immediately ratify the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.
- e) Immediately ratify and enforce the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women.
- f) Strengthen and coordinate efforts to curb and prevent gender-based violence.
- g) Address and provide adequate mechanisms to serve the needs of the victims and survivors of gender-based violence.
- h) Invest heavily in quality and accessible health care for all South Sudanese.
- i) Invest heavily in quality and accessible education for all South Sudanese.

### **5.3 Problems Facing the Republic of South Sudan in its security sector: Security Sector Reform (SSR)**

Security Sector Reform (hereinafter referred to as SSR) is the core of nation-building in Sudan, as well as the basis for handling all other challenges. According to Giles pie (2009), SSR has outstanding potential to give birth to sustainable peace and transform a post-conflict state into long-term development (p. 2). Indeed, Giles pie (2009) suggests that no long-term development is possible in a post-conflict state, unless the newly established government of that state has recourse to the tenets of SSR.

Following the arguments of this author, it is possible to infer that SSR may also be implemented from outside. Thus, Giles pie (2009) both acknowledges the unique position of

the UN in the post-conflict environment, and criticizes the UN's lack of a comprehensive approach to SSR.

Therefore, South Sudan should not rely completely on the UN in the adoption of SSR in its territory. Secondly, it is incumbent on the UN to formulate a comprehensive approach to the SSR in order to become capable of providing solutions in post-conflict states such as South Sudan.

In a nutshell, South Sudan should not expect tremendous assistance from the UN in the context of the SSR, because the UN demonstrates poor understanding of SSR theory, does not prioritize SSR, and displays other recurrent mistakes (Gillespie 2009, p. 2). South Sudan will only be able to successfully implement the tenets of SSR if this state completely understands the specificities of SSR.

Thus, the initial stage of SSR in South Sudan is theoretical comprehension. At this stage, it is incumbent on the government to grasp the nature and value of SSR as a framework for direct prevention of conflicts and a contribution to the eradication of poverty and promotion of democracy (Gillespie 2009, p. 8).

SSR theory postulates that a newly established state first and foremost requires reform in the security sector, which consists of "all those institutions whose primary role is the provision of internal and external security, together with bodies responsible for the administration, tasking and control" (Chunter 2006, p. 8). To this end, it is possible to infer that SSR rotates around the concept of the security sector. Furthermore, the term 'security sector' includes not only those institutions responsible for external security, but those units that provide internal security. However, it is possible to agree with Gillespie (2009) that the broader the extent of the security sector, the less comprehensive its functionality and operationability.

Following the conventional definition of the security sector, all its actors can be classified into four groups: 1) core security actors (military and paramilitary organizations); 2) security management and oversight bodies (the executive bodies of power, legislative bodies of power, and other bodies of regulation and governance); 3) justice and law enforcement institutions (judiciaries, penitentiaries, and other law enforcement and law protective entities); 4) non-statutory security forces (liberation armies, guerrilla armies, private security forces, etc.).

The traditional definition of the security sector emphasizes the role of military and paramilitary entities in the provision of internal and external security, whereas the executive, legislative, and judiciary bodies are regarded as secondary security actors. In common with other scholars, Chaana (2002) associates the security sector predominantly with those actors that are capable of exercising coercive power in society in order to respond to internal and external threats to the security of the state and its citizens (p. 7).

Taking into consideration the conventional definition of the security sector, the security sector in South Sudan as a post-conflict state can also be regarded as a fourfold conglomeration of actors, including military/paramilitary institutions (the core), legislative and executive actors, judiciary and law enforcement institutions, and non-statutory security forces.

Having defined the term ‘security sector’, the discussion moves to the nature, value, and objectives of SSR. Giles (2009) maintains that the overall aim of SSR is to reshape a newly establish state’s security sector “so that it is capable of providing security to both the state and its citizens and respond to their needs” (p. 15). In other words, the author highlights the active component of SSR. The term ‘reform’, implies the reconsideration, improvement, or reconstruction of all the institutions that constituted the security sector in the old state.

Hence, it can be deduced that a new system of institutions is expected to emerge as a result of SSR.

Another important aspect of SSR is the reform of security sector institutions with a specific purpose in mind – to make them capable of ensuring the security of both the state and its citizens and responding to their needs (Gillespie 2009, p. 8). This requirement means that any incentive to reshape a state's security sector must be carried out under the banner of citizens' needs. That is, SSR will only be effective if it is motivated by the idea of citizens' welfare and prosperity.

The connection between citizens' welfare and prosperity and SSR is a means of reducing poverty and guaranteeing that state development programs are sustainable. Gillespie (2009) considers SSR a crucial component of a post-war recovery strategy (p. 15).

Thus, in order to achieve the overall purpose of a post-war recovery program, it is incumbent on the government of South Sudan not only to reshape the military, executive, legislative, and judicial entities, but also to reduce the levels of crime and violent incidents in the country. In other words, SSR implies structural and complex change. According to Wulf (2004), the complex nature of SSR manifests in four dimensions: political, economic, social, and institutional (p. 5).

The first dimension concerns the problems of civilian control and oversights. From the political perspective, the main objective of SSR is to ensure that security and justice in South Sudan are delivered in conformity with human rights and democratic standards (Gillespie 2009, p. 17).

The superiority of the political dimension over the other elements SSR is due to the fact that this dimension designates how the security sector is managed. The political dimension always implies that the security sector preserves autonomy and power, and thus strong legislative entities are required to elaborate prudent policies.



Furthermore, the political dimension requires that the actors in a post-conflict state provide the citizens with the real possibility of electing officials in an open and transparent manner. Hence, in order to prevent legislative bodies from being mere simply written on paper, legislatures should be accompanied by a strong political culture that respects the rule of law.

This means that the political dimension of SSR may overlap with good governance. Gillespie (2009) believes that the actualization of the political agenda of SSR may be possible through a high level of political commitment. In the context of South Sudan, the political dimension of SSR may be implemented through various forms of oversight mechanisms by political elites which respect law in terms of parliamentarism.

The economic dimension of SSR is tightly linked to resources. Gillespie notes that, this dimension guarantees that national resources are used in an efficient manner, “and are appropriate for the size of security institutions relative to the economic capacity of the state” (Gillespie 2009, p. 18).

The third component of the Security Sector Reform connects directly to the sphere of human security, and thus concerns the need to guarantee citizens physical security, and security of health, life, and property (Gillespie 2009, p. 18).

According to the author, the social dimension of SSR goes beyond military endeavors to protect civilians from internal and external threats, as it involves more actors and requires different abilities and skills (Gillespie 2009, p. 18). Furthermore, unlike the political dimension which emphasizes the role of political elites in the promotion and assurance of security in the country, the civil dimension accentuates the involvement of citizens and civil society as active actors in the security debate (Chaana 2002, p. 30).

The fourth constituent – the institutional dimension - is associated with the professionalism and capacities of security actors. According to Chaana (2002), the

institutional dimension involves downsizing, reorientation, or reprioritization of objectives and tasks (p. 29). Gillespie (2009) notes that a crucial problem in dealing with this dimension is that security institutions frequently possess strong characteristics which may intertwine with the very nature of society, and may thus pose behavioral and structural impediments to the SSR process (p. 19).

Hence, the task of changing the very behavior of security institutions may be viewed as a very difficult objective, as it is not easy to win the population's trust while at the same time refrain from controlling the population. In the framework of South Sudan, the institutional dimension of SSR means that it is incumbent on the government of South Sudan to improve the effectiveness of state security institutions in order to protect citizens, rather than to control them.

The peculiarities of SSR are also discussed in by Chuter (2006), who describes SSR as a very sensible concept. In the author's opinion, the SSR should not be reduced to military-related theories, as not only military and paramilitary institutions, but civilians play a crucial role in SSR. According to Chuter (2006), similar to military organizations, civilians vary greatly. In the author's opinion, civilians participate in the SSR to the same degree as military officials. Thus, it is possible to differentiate between elected political leaders and their personal advisors on the one hand, and the permanent cadre of civilian officials on the other.

Furthermore, civilians outside the security sector influence SSR. Taking into consideration that civilian plays an equal role as the military in SSR, Chuter (2006) defines SSR as changes in a security sector which promote democracy in the following ways: a) to provide the security that is demanded and desired by the people, as efficiently and effectively as possible; and b) to manage security by means of the procedures that are normally applied in a parliamentary democracy (p. 21).

### **5.3.1. Energy Issues (Oil)**

Having analyzed the core dimensions of SSR, the discussion now turns to specific issues that impact the security sector. One of the principal issues in this regard in South Sudan is energy. As the foregoing discussion suggests, energy issues are covered by the economic dimension of SSR. It should be reiterated that the economic dimension of the SSR seeks to guarantee that resources are used in an effective manner and are adequate to the size of security institutions relative to the economic capacity of the state (Candless and Karbo 2011). Moreover, the economic constituent of the security sector deals not only with the allocation of resources, but also with the rationale for those allocations (Gillespie 2009, p. 18).

Thus, the necessity of ensuring the security of national resources in South Sudan is one of the fundamental objectives of the post-conflict government. According to Dersso (2012) of the Institute for Security Studies, the plundering of natural resources in the South, alongside with invasion and slave-riding, constituted “the pre-colonial historical basis for the Sudan’s north-south division and the quest for self-determination by the southerners” (p. 6). This underlines the urgency of preventing any attempts to plunder or abuse South Sudan’s natural resources in the future.

Oil is one of the most valuable natural resources in South Sudan. The oilfields in the south of Sudan have kept the region’s economy alive since 1999. However South Sudan’s independence in 2011 led to a situation when the southern and northern governments were not immediately capable of arriving at a settlement on how to split the income from the southern oilfields (Gentleman 2011).

It is estimated that South Sudan possesses approximately four times the oil deposits of Sudan. Moreover, oil revenues constitute more than 98% of the government of South Sudan’s budget, estimated at more than 8 billion USD since the adoption of the peace agreement (Hamilton 2010).

However, oil should not be considered the only available resource which influences the state of national security. Different alternatives to oils must be taken into consideration by South Sudan's government in order to succeed. Thus, measuring instruments used by the alternative fuel industry must be vigorous and sturdy enough to withstand the harsh conditions that occur in the production process. Pulsation, vibration, and environmental conditions can compromise system integrity and may impede the optimal performance of this process. In this connection, South Sudan should pay more heed to solar energy, wind energy, or other alternatives.

This highlights the significance of the economic dimension of SSR in South Sudan. In other words, the correct allocation of oil resources, as well as the promotion of a correct rationale for these allocations, will help to enhance South Sudan's economic development. To this end, the first and foremost issue to be settled is the issue of contractual relationship between Sudan and South Sudan with regard to the split of oil revenues. It is mandatory for South Sudan to assert its right to a bigger share and more favourable terms without provoking fresh conflict.

Secondly, it is incumbent on South Sudan to diversify away from oil and invest in alternative sources of energy, in view of the fact that its oil reserves are set to halve by 2020 if no new deposits are found (Laesing 2011).

### **5.3.2. Human Security**

Gillespie (2009) argues that a key pillar of SSR is that the reform must be holistic, and "all reforms must be seen in the wider context of human security and post war recovery" (p. 16). Therefore, human security is deemed a very important domain in which SSR must thrive.

According to Weiler (2009), the term 'human security' as a dimension of SSR refers to the security of every single individual within the society (p. 5). Hänggi (2004) argues that the SSR aims to ensure the effective and efficient provision of human and state security

within a framework of democratic governance (p. 2). Hence, human security is considered a prerequisite for democratic governance. If the people of South Sudan envision their country as a democratic state, they need to demand that their government protect human security.

According to Weiler (2009), the notion of human security is based on the assumption that the security and development actors in the international community may achieve benefits from collaborating with one another in order to achieve common objectives, especially in post-conflict situations.

In this sense, the author considers human security as important as state security. According to the scholar, one of the effective mechanisms to endorse the concept of human security is to prevent violence against citizens. To all intents and purposes, the phenomenon of human security is rooted in government policies and is a barometer of the level of democracy in the country in question.

Weiler (2009) adds that the concepts of human security and governance security are similar, but not the same (p. 15). According to the author, the two concepts are equally directed at the ultimate protection of the individual by way of augmenting a security system which is based on good democratic governance. Nonetheless, human security is much more closely related with the protection of individuals' physical security, as well as protecting their rights. For instance, the European Union's approach to SSR is to enhance 'human security' as a result of 'state security' via a 'post-modern rationale' (Weiler 2009, p. 28). Weiler (2009) interprets human security as an inevitable consequence, final aim, or corollary of state security. It follows that it is impossible to guarantee human security without first providing state security.

Haider (2011) and Blitz & Lynch (2009) concur with this assertion. According to Blitz & Lynch (2009), the lack of effective statehood undermines human security.

The authors understand human security not only as violent threats to individuals, but also as a wide spectrum of vulnerabilities imposed by different forms of inequality, violent threats to individuals, the lack of state capacity and poverty. In this sense, promoting human security means eliminating, diminishing or mitigating all existing vulnerabilities caused by inequality, poverty, and lack of state capacity. In the context of South Sudan, it is incumbent on the state authorities to formulate effective programs against poverty, inequality and other vulnerabilities in order to encourage human security as an objective of SSR.

All things considered, Blitz and Lynch (2009) maintain that the majority of problems relating to human security stem from the phenomenon of statelessness (p. 4). It is possible to agree with the authors that there is direct nexus between statelessness and human security. While stateless people have fundamental human rights, they are incapable of actualizing these rights as they live a precarious existence. Blitz and Lynch (2009) enumerate a large number of impediments encountered by stateless people encounter, “including the denial of opportunities to: establish a legal residence, travel, work in the formal economy, send children to school, access basic health services of a country” (p. 4).

Blitz and Lynch’s (2009) arguments imply that, South Sudan will be able to actualize human security in the framework of SSR only if it succeeds in a variety of measures, such as the establishment of legal residence for its population, promotion of travel and work in the formal economy, provision of schools for children, and enhanced access to basic health services, etc.

Aside from the aforementioned measures, it is incumbent on the government of South Sudan to improve birth registration and other forms of documentation. According to Blitz and Lynch (2009), the registration of births is a fundamental step in the strategy to address statelessness and inequality, because all states rely on birth registration and other means of

documentation to provide access to basic services which are essential for the encouragement of human security.

The concept of human security is also scrutinized by Law (2005), who emphasizes the interplay between SSR and human security. According to Law (2005), four factors determine the linkage between the two concepts. The first originates from the role of the state (Law 2005, p. 15).

The second factor stems from the existence of various schools of thought within both the human security and security sector communities. The third derives from methodological features, when the two concepts possess contrasting objectives and functions. Finally, the fourth factor implies a number of misunderstandings about the roots of the two concepts and possibilities of their mutual interaction.

### **5.3.3. Risk Theory within SSR**

Having ascertained the main dimensions of SSR, this sub-section focuses on risk theory as a contemporary perspective on SSR. In its broad sense, Persson (2012) considers risk theory to be an up-to-date perspective on SSR. The author juxtaposes risk theory and SSR in order to identify significant similarities and discrepancies.

Persson (2012) claims that, the introduction of risk management to SSR may contribute to the domain of post-conflict intervention (p. 3). He places special emphasis on the field of post-conflict intervention that is understood as a strategy whereby the probability of renewed conflict and accompanying risks are expected to lessen.

Moreover, the concept of post-conflict intervention implies the diminishment of risks at various levels, such as international, national, and individual levels (Persson 2012, p. 3). In the context of South Sudan, the notion of post-conflict intervention may be associated with a wide spectrum of multi-leveled measures which aim to decrease the likelihood of recurrent conflict with Sudan or any other state and its associated hazards.

Persson's concept of post-conflict intervention is linked to core idea of SSR. In the author's opinion, SSR emerges as a core constituent of post-conflict development (Persson 2012, p. 5). That is, Persson (2012) recognizes SSR as an undeniable component of post-conflict development. From Persson's reasoning, it is possible to infer that post-conflict development is a much broader strategy of a newly established state, whereas SSR focuses on much narrower facets of post-conflict development. It is interesting to note that the international community has for a long time been preoccupied with the problems of post-conflict development without emphasizing security issues. This means that security issues are relatively recent facets of the strategy of post-conflict development. To this end, the author deems it wise to analyze SSR in the light of risk theory as a relatively recent theory of risk management.

Persson (2012) bases his risk theory on Rasmussen's book 'The Risk Society at War'. Persson (2012) states that risk theory rests on the term 'risk society'. In the framework of risk theory, the risk society influences the nature of the modern world and warfare. In view of the above, Persson (2012) argues that the key argument of risk theory is that people's apprehension of danger and risks has altered since the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and thus there is a substantial discrepancy between threats and risks. The notion of threat implies a particular danger that can be determined and evaluated, whereas the concept of risk is not precisely visible and measurable (Persson 2012, p. 8).

According to Persson (2012), a risk embodies a scenario which indicates danger, but people are incapable of predicting its occurrence. In other words, it is impossible to know if a certain risk will take place in practice. From the perspective of risk, perfect security can never be achieved. Therefore, the management of risks and pre-emption of possible dangers is considered by both Rasmussen (2006) and Persson (2012) to be the best strategy (Rasmussen 2006, p. 1-2; Persson 2012, pp. 1-2).



In a nutshell, risk theory is more preoccupied with what might happen if certain measures are not taken, whereas other theories of security focuses on what happens or is about to happen. The main rationale of risk theory rests on logic. From the logical point of view, there are an infinite number of risks, and it is thus impossible to eliminate all risks. Instead, risk management as a component of SSR should focus on the evaluation of risks and proficiency in distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable hazards (Rasmussen 2006, pp. 3-4; Persson 2012, p. 9). Taking into consideration that risks are infinite, they need to be analyzed from a rational perspective. In other words, the main idea of risk theory is not to provide the framework for the prevention of risk, but to provide one for risk analysis from a rational perspective.

Max Weber defines rationality as the method in which actions make sense to the actor (Rasmussen 2006, pp. 5-6). It is argued that Western civilization has established new risk rationality. This means that Western civilization has changed the traditional way in which actions make sense to the actor.

Persson (2012) writes that the new vision of risk-based rationality includes not only the domain of foreign strategy and policy, but the field of society and environment at large (p. 9). Given this, Persson (2012) maintains that the new risk-based strategy may be exemplified by the precautionary principle. The precautionary principle is deemed a fundamental element of Western environmental policy and manifests itself in such measures as pre-emptive action, future scenarios, and tackling future risks (Persson 2012, p. 9).

All things considered, the precautionary principle is an example of risk-based approaches to security-related issues. In the context of South Sudan, the practicability of risk theory in general, and the precautionary principle in particular, may be proved only if the general and specific features of the risk-based perspective are scrutinized.

As far as the general characteristics of risk theory are concerned, Rasmussen (2006) and Persson (2012) envision three major elements of a risk-based perspective: management, the presence of the future, and the boomerang effect (Persson 2012, p. 9). According to these scholars, the aforementioned elements are broad pillars of risk theory. Each therefore needs to be analyzed in detail.

As far as the concept of management is concerned, it is possible to agree with Persson (2012) that the significance of management as an element of risk theory originates from the fact that risks cannot be eliminated, but can be managed. The author maintains that the only available option is to manage the ongoing process as smoothly as possible. From this thesis, it can be deduced that a risk-based practice is not merely a formulation of plans for optimal behavior in the future, but rather the art of choosing the lesser of two evils. The most rational course of action is to manage possible options in order to prevent bigger threats.

In the context of post-conflict governance, the pillar of management means that risks have to be managed on a long term basis because one of the main priorities of a newly established state is the protection of democratic mechanisms of governance and their capabilities and resources (Mitchell 1999). This implies that a democratic government's inability to eliminate all risks may be countered by the possibility of preventing and managing those risks which are inevitable and menacing.

Moreover, Rasmussen (2006) points out that even the technique of prevention is fruitless, and thus it is incumbent on a post-conflict government to shift from preventing risks towards influencing the opportunities for risks. For instance, instead of spending resources on the preventing crime, it is more effectively for the government to influence opportunities for crime. From the logical point of view, if people are deprived of the opportunities to commit crime, they will be reluctant to risk their lives and fate.

The second element of risk theory is known as the presence of future. According to Persson (2012), the core difference between treating threats and treating risks lies in the fact that risks are scenarios which have yet to emerge (p. 10). In other words, threats can be detected and identified, whereas risks can only be recognized as possible future developments. This suggests that the logic behind risk management is simple – in order to successfully manage threats, it is essential to focus on the strategy of risk pre-emption. According to Persson (2012), the rationale for pre-emption is clear and unproblematic. The strategy starts with the identification of a risk. If the risk is identified as threatening, it will be vital to not delay taking pre-emptive action (Persson 2012, p. 11). However, the author highlights a difficulty associated with pre-emptive action - the difficulty of weighing an identified hazard against the negative outcomes of pre-emptive action. This may cause the so-called risk trap, where the decision-maker is reluctant to take pre-emptive action because every action creates new risks.

According to Rasmussen (2006), this problem emerges as a result of a decision-maker's lack of acceptance of the risk. In other words, it is incumbent on a decision-maker to accept the inevitability of certain risks in order to prevent worst case scenarios from coming true. Instead, many decision makers are reluctant to “pay the price of insecurity”, as they try to avert too many risks, and thus are caught in the aforesaid preventive pre-emption trap (Rasmussen 2006, pp. 128-129).

The third constituent of risk theory is the boomerang effect. According to Persson (2012), this is a fundamental concept that implies that the action taken to avert the occurrence of one risk might result in the creation of others (p. 11). Moreover, Rasmussen (2006) and Persson (2012) detect more than simply unintended outcomes. For instance, Rasmussen (2006) identifies three less apparent boomerang effects. First, the process of risk identification may have a boomerang effect in itself. Rasmussen (2006) argues that even the

preliminary stages of a risk-based strategy may be associated with the detection of new risks following the emphasis on other risks. That is, the predisposition of a decision maker to focus on specific risks does not preclude new risks from emerging.

Second, Persson (2012) notes that emphasis on risk pre-emption and risk itself may be strategically exploited (p. 12). This means that the acceptance of rare and unpredicted risks may provide a decision maker with a significant advantage over his or her opponents. Third, the boomerang effect is always associated with the concept of risk compensation. This means that an increasingly secure environment may lead to increased risk taking strategies.

The discussion now turns to the applicability of risk theory in the context of South Sudan. As noted earlier, South Sudan is a post-conflict, newly established state which needs to develop its security sector in order to prevent or withstand possible conflict in the future. The status of South Sudan as a post-conflict state justifies the applicability of SSR in the country. As far as risk theory is concerned, Persson argues that risk theory is an up-to-date approach to SSR. Hence, risk theory is a version of SSR from a contemporary perspective.

In line with Persson's (2012) arguments, the implementation of risk theory in terms of South Sudan's SSR is justifiable, as this theory is based on risk management as an expected contribution to the domain of post-conflict intervention. In other words, risk theory is a facet of post-conflict intervention. Taking into consideration that South Sudan is a post-conflict state, it can be expected that post-conflict intervention is a logical element of the country's post-conflict agenda.

Persson's study shows that post-conflict intervention may be reduced to a strategy where the probability of recurrent conflicts and supplementary risks is expected to diminish. In this sense, the application of post-conflict intervention in South Sudan's security sector would imply that the probability of renewed conflict between South Sudan, on the one hand, and Sudan or other states, on the other, could be decreased. Unlike earlier approaches to SSR,

risk theory highlights the concept of a risk society and takes into account the nature of modern world and warfare. Hence, risk theory is pertinent to the context of South Sudan, because the case of South Sudan is a contemporary and sophisticated instance of post-conflict state building which requires SSR.

Furthermore, the communities of South Sudan may be characterized as a ‘risk society’ which requires post-conflict intervention. It should be reiterated that Persson (2012) correctly argues that people’s perception of risks and dangers has changed since the 20<sup>th</sup> century; it is thus prudent to cast off theories of intervention which envisage no disparity between risks and threats. The case of South Sudan is a recent case of post-conflict state-building; thus it is imprudent to apply old theories to this contemporary case. On the other hand, risk theory is a modern approach within SSR and is thus appropriate in the case of South Sudan. It should be reiterated that risk theory differentiates between threats and risks and relies on such cornerstones as logic and rationality.

In the context of South Sudan, risk theory requires decision makers to distinguish between scenarios of possible danger (risks) and actual dangers which can be detected and estimated (threats).

If South Sudan’s decision makers learn to differentiate between risks and threats, they will become capable of refraining from responding to provocations and other situations devoid of substantial risk. It is also expected that a risk-based strategy will help South Sudan to regulate its relationship with Sudan through the management of bigger risks and by disregarding lesser hazards. The approach of accepting a lesser risk in order to avoid a bigger one is expected to help South Sudan settle current energy issues (oil issues) with Sudan.

The strategy of pre-emptive and proactive actions is more effective for South Sudan than the strategy of response and prevention. It is important for South Sudan’s decision

makers to analyze all risks from a rational perspective, as rationality is the only method where actions make sense to the actor (Rasmussen 2006, pp. 5-6).

In implementing risk theory in the framework of its SSR, South Sudan's policy makers should be conscious of three major elements of every risk-based strategy: management, the presence of the future, and the boomerang effect. Management is the core phase of dealing with risks.

It is incumbent on South Sudan's decision makers to learn how to manage risks through analysis, logic, rationality, and pre-emption by refraining from actual responses and measures directed at the elimination of one risk while ignoring others. Risk theory prescribes that while risks cannot be eliminated, they can be managed (Persson 2012).

This means that South Sudan's policy makers should not attempt to formulate measures to respond to risks, as it is impossible to predict the scenario in which a risk takes place. However, it is possible for the country's decision makers to pre-empt the occurrence of the most threatening scenario of a risk either by decreasing opportunities for the risk or mitigating the most frightening risks and accepting the less dangerous risks.

The practical implementation of risk management in South Sudan may be triggered in the domain of energy and oil. Thus, instead of responding to Sudan's pressure to split the income from the southern oilfields, South Sudan should invest in alternative sources of energy, such as solar and wind energy. If South Sudan accepts the risk of reducing oil production of oil by redirecting its investments to alternative sources of energy, it will inevitably win the 'oil war' with Sudan, because it will avert oil-based conflict and stabilize its economy in the near future.

Similarly, South Sudan's decision makers should be fully aware of the potential and limitations of such phases, as the presence of the future and the boomerang effect. It is incumbent on South Sudan's decision makers to be aware that the aversion of one risk may

lead to the emergence of other risks. The presence of the future and the boomerang effect reinforce the significance of risk management in the framework of SSR as opposed to responses to risks.

#### **5.3.4. Recent challenges to South Sudan's security which necessitate Security**

##### **Sector Reform (SSR)**

The preceding discussion noted SSR is an effective tool for post-conflict states. However, taking into consideration that South Sudan is the world's youngest nation, it is impossible to present sufficient evidence on the effectiveness of the SSR in peace- and nation-building in the country. Nevertheless, it is possible to provide insight into the recent challenges encountered by the government and people of South Sudan, in order to evaluate the gravity of threats to South Sudan's security and recommend how South Sudan should act to mitigate the effects of those challenges.

Weber (2013) offers a comprehensive analysis of the recent and current challenges to South Sudan's security as well as the effectiveness of SSR. According to the author, since independence, the government of South Sudan has made several important policy decisions.

One of the most significant decisions was the one-year interruption of oil production. Another important achievement is the balance of relations between South Sudan and Sudan. The government of South Sudan not only managed to guarantee domestic peace, but also contributed significantly to interstate peace, taking into account that, from being on the verge of war, the two states succeeded in mitigating the tensions between them.

Notwithstanding these important achievements, there is evidence that the current South Sudanese regime has still not succeeded in promoting domestic peace and internal security. Weber (2013) identifies several reasons for this situation. One underlying reason is the intrinsic difficulty of the South Sudanese administration, a former rebel movement, playing the role of a civilian government. This reason needs to be analyzed in detail.

In her report on SSR in South Sudan, Weber (2013) highlights that South Sudan gained pride and self-confidence as a result of winning the war for independence (p. 1). This has encouraged the country to confront the structural challenges of its statehood. The author adds that the conditions for SSR were favorable at the time of the country's founding. However, Weber (2013) notes that the country's wealth was not channeled into domestic infrastructure or "future-oriented investments in areas such as education, despite illiteracy rates of greater than 70 percent" (p. 1), negatively impacting SSR.

Another reason why SSR has failed in South Sudan is widespread corruption. Four billion dollars have disappeared into the pockets of state officials since 2011. Weber (2013) notes that, notwithstanding high state expenditure on defence which constituted 40% of the national budget, military salaries have remained virtually unchanged/ this could create serious threats to security as destitute members of the armed forces might participate in robberies against the civilian population and join financially solvent militias (Weber 2013, p. 1).

Aside from the problem of corruption and a lack of administrative skills, the diversity of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) may also impede the effectiveness of SSR in the country. Weber (2013) observes that during the more than 20-year conflict in Sudan, insurgents, rival tribes and competing militias were incorporated into the national army. However, dissident opinions are not tolerated either within or outside the governing regime, and thus the competing entities are integrated into the political system, "without any discussion of the country's political goals" (Weber 2013, p. 2). Armed dissidents may undermine South Sudan's internal and external security.

However, instead of dealing with the structural problems stemming from the national policies of "exclusion and neopatrimonial clientelism", South Sudan and Sudan blame their own security problems on each other. Like Sudan, South Sudan has not reformed its armed forces in order to prevent rivalries and deviations.



Weber (2013) highlights issues of security in analyzing the problems confronting South Sudan. She provides statistical evidence to show that since South Sudan's secession, not much has improved, while the security situation in the country has become worse (Weber 2013, p. 2).

Weber (2013) notes that, more than 2,200 people have died in military conflict since South Sudan's independence. Moreover, 320,000 of the approximately eight million residents of South Sudan have been forced to leave their homeland due to the conflict, droughts, or floods.

In addition to the widespread clashes between various militias and the national army, cattle theft has also increased in both occurrences and brutality. According to Weber (2013), the main reason is the dramatic rise in the bride price paid in the form of cattle to the bride's family.

Many young individuals in South Sudan are notable to marry without stealing cattle. Moreover, many young men now unite in groups to steal large herds of cattle from their owners in order to pay the bride price (Weber 2013, p. 2).

This situation is complicated by the presence of criminal gangs that frequently hire thieves to steal cattle in order to sell it in the area. Weber (2013) reports that cattle thieves have organized into an ethnic fighting units which no longer confine themselves to the seizure of local herds, but also assault the citizens of neighboring ethnic communities.

Weber's (2013) study identifies several determinants of ethnic conflicts in South Sudan. One critical determinant is the delegitimization and weakening of local chiefs and elders, because of war or political entanglements (Weber 2013, p. 2). Another underlying factor influencing the proliferation of ethnic-based conflicts lies in the destruction, either total or partial, of social networks.

Weber (2013) explains that the state authorities in South Sudan have substantial difficulty in maintaining control of the instruments of legitimate force, taking into consideration the geographical peculiarities of South Sudan as a country of sparsely populated areas and “infrastructurally isolated peripheral regions” (Weber 2013, p. 2).

There is no doubt that the gravity of current challenges to South Sudan’s internal and external security not only justifies, but also necessitates the adoption of SSR. According to Weber (2013), the country’s government regards SSR as a critical means to improve national security.

As the foregoing discussion suggests, the most critical challenge necessitating the implementation of SSR in South Sudan originates from the problems inside the country’s armed forces.

Weber (2013) observes that both the diversity of the national armed forces and strict state policy towards dissidents results in a wide spectrum of threats to South Sudan’s internal and external security. In the author’s opinion, the main reason for the risks emanating from South Sudan’s armed forces lies in the fact that more than 40,000 irregular combatants from disparate military and paramilitary groups were formally integrated into the national army under the principles of South Sudan’s ‘big tent’ policy (Weber 2013, p. 2).

It is important to note that the main rationale for this policy was to reconcile adversaries to promote national security. However, it seems that this objective was fulfilled only from the short-term perspective.

Weber’s research shows that the national ‘big tent’ policy not only offered opportunities for advancement to diverse military commanders, but widened the chasm between armed leaders and their soldiers. South Sudan’s soldiers have not had equal opportunities for career growth and personal advancement (Weber 2013, p. 2).

It is possible to agree with Weber (2013) that dissatisfied soldiers may create dangerous trends in terms of national security in South Sudan. Thus, Weber (2013) notes that disappointed and dissident members of the national army are predisposed to become renegades and establish new military or paramilitary entities in order to obtain access to political and natural resources.

On the other hand, the strategy of assimilation carries the risk of giving rise to new factions which may pursue privileges and opportunities for advancement, similar to the old factions. According to Weber (2013), various conflicts and metamorphoses within South Sudan's armed forces resemble the game of political poker (p. 2).

### **5.3.5. The effectiveness of Security Sector Reform (SSR) in light of the current challenges to South Sudan's security**

South Sudan's government's efforts to utilize SSR date back to the transitional phase under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005 (Weber 2013, p. 3). At that time, it was expected that the South Sudan army would be professionalized under the aegis of the UK and US. These countries' plans for the enhancement of security in South Sudan prescribed a reduction in military strength, the introduction of a pension plan for former members of the armed forces and of a new conception of law enforcement agencies and their responsibilities. However, these plans have already been abandoned, due to the lack of political will on the part of the government to take the necessary measures to change the emphasis of its policies from the military to the political agenda (Weber 2013, p. 3).

Weber (2013) and many other scholars are of the opinion that, by prioritizing defence, the government of South Sudan has neglected many other problems. For example, the establishment of a constitutional infrastructure is fundamental to comprehensive security.

Apart from internal inconsistencies, SSR is hindered by the influence, or the lack of significant influence, of the external powers. In Weber's opinion, external actors are capable

of providing substantial, crucial, long-term assistance to South Sudan's state-building or nation-building process (Weber 2013).

For instance, it is expected that Germany and other European Union countries might enhance their roles as reliable and engaged partners – “especially considering competition with China, India, and Malaysia, all of which offer the South Sudanese government higher volumes of investments as oil partners” (Weber 2013, p. 4).

Germany is also considered capable of promoting the rule of law in South Sudan and participating in police training programs. However, in order to attract foreign partners, it is incumbent on South Sudan's government to differentiate between military tasks and law enforcement tasks. If it fails to do so, foreign partners' support threatens to be restricted to financing the military. To all intents and purposes, SSR in South Sudan should not be reduced to the armed forces and military infrastructure. A wide range of civil society issues should be improved by means of SSR.

### **5.3.6. The Case of Abyei as a failure of non-completion of the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)**

The CPA of 2005 formalized the transitional phase for South Sudan. The Abyei Area between the north-south border of Sudan was dealt under a separate protocol in the CPA adopted between the Sudan government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in January 2005 (Johnson 2008, p. 1).

According to the provisions of this protocol, it was incumbent on a boundaries commission to precisely define the territory to be included in the special administration of this area. The decision of that commission was to be implemented “with immediate effect” on submission of its report in July 2005, “but implementation has been blocked by the National Congress Party, which still controls the central government in Sudan” (Johnson 2008). Hence, the case of Abyei is an example of non-completion of the implementation of the CPA.

Moreover, the war in Abyei is considered a precedent for the conduct of war in Darfur, when tribal militias are involved in military clashes alongside the forcible displacement of the non-Arab population. In Johnson's opinion, the failure to implement the Abyei Protocol has implications not only for the designation of the North-South border, "but for the implementation of any Darfur peace agreement" (Johnson 2008, p. 1).

Furthermore, the failure to actualize the Abyei Protocol presents other implications for peace-making in Sudan. Thus, it is possible to agree with Johnson (2013) that if the National Congress Party of Sudan continues to block the implementation of the Abyei Protocol doubts will arise regarding its commitment to the rest of the CPA. If the military situation in the Abyei area is addressed, it will inevitably endanger South Sudan's security as a newborn, independent state. Finally, the ineffectiveness of the Abyei Protocol will undermine the role of international and foreign actors who were directly involved in drafting this protocol and provided guarantees for the CPA.

### **5.3.7. Tribal cleavages in South Sudan's government**

Tribal cleavages in South Sudan's government also pose a threat to the country's security. According to Ding and Tosun (2012), the political environment in South Sudan is characterized by inter-tribal cleavages, intra-ministerial cleavages, and fractured relationships between national and state governments, etc. (p. 6).

The main reason for cleavages between tribes lies in the ethnic division of South Sudan's complex society into two regional groups: Nilotic communities in the northern states of greater Upper Nile and greater Bahr al-Ghazal which have traditionally relied on cattle-herding and agriculture. Experts believe that the tensions between those two groups pose a major threat to South Sudan's political security. These two groups alternated holding political power in the country (Ding and Tosun 2012).

Today, the tribal tensions between the groups are reflected in the composition of the South Sudanese government. Despite the expectation that independence would result in an equal distribution of governmental portfolios among the tribes, in practice, power was shifted from Dinka-controlled ministries to Equatorians and other groups in an endeavour to achieve greater unity between the disparate tribal factions. Principal “technocratic” ministries, such as Finance and Economic Planning and Agriculture and Forestry, are led by Equatorian ministers, whereas the more security-oriented ministries, such as Defense and Veteran Affairs, Roads and Bridges, and the newly created Ministry of National Security are governed by ministers from pastoral tribes who also serve as generals in the SPLA (Ding and Tosun 2012).

In the final analysis, the implications of the aforementioned tribal cleavages lie in the fact that any policy intervention which seems to favour the interests of a specific group of people may potentially foster social fragmentation (Ding and Tosun 2012, p. 7). In the case of South Sudan, this suggests that the most likely senior politicians that represent agricultural regions have less political capital than leaders from cattle-herding communities who, at the same time, are oversee the high-priority security sectors.

### **5.3.8. Recent breakdown of peace in South Sudan as a major threat to the country’s independence and security**

The present unstable situation in South Sudan endangers nation-building processes. Waal and Muhammed (2014) note that the citizens of South Sudan made substantial sacrifices to gain independence and thus desire stability and peace.

Recently, the leaders of South Sudan have illustrated their incapability to promote the country’s viability. A political breakdown in South Sudan endangers the whole nation.

However, Waal and Muhammed (2014) point out that the crisis may give South Sudan the opportunity to restore its national agenda. The political breakdown may enable

South Sudan to start a new political life. The researcher agrees with Waal and Muhammed (2014) that it is incumbent on the current political leaders of South Sudan to accurately appraise the situation, analyze what has gone wrong, and exert themselves in restoring the country's national agenda.

The first step is to evaluate what has gone so disastrously wrong in South Sudan. Waal and Muhammed (2014) observe that the present conflict in South Sudan may be viewed through the prism of three main dimensions: "a political dispute within the ruling party, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM); a regional and ethnic war; and a crisis within the army itself" ('Party Time').

In terms of the first dimension is concerned, Waal and Muhammed (2014) note that the political dispute in South Sudan has existed for a long time. Even prior to independence in July 2011, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) was not unanimous on how to deal with central government. The Movement was split several ways. One way was to confront the government of Sudan in Khartoum or collaborate with the government. Another way was to distribute wealth and power within South Sudan (Waal and Muhammed 2014).

At independence, Salva Kiir, the President of South Sudan, favored the maintenance of friendly relations with Khartoum as a necessary prerequisite to secure oil revenue. South Sudan depends on the pipeline that runs through Sudan to the Red Sea to export its oil.

However, the leader of the opposition party contended that South Sudan should use seize the opportunity for a change of regime in Khartoum by assisting the rebels in the north and capture the disputed territories by force. In addition to the controversy between the leaders of the ruling and opposition parties in South Sudan, there was also a conflict between the president and vice president of the country, whose views on domestic policies differed, and who could not decide who should lead the party into the next election in 2015 (Waal and Mohammed 2014).

The conflict between the president and vice president led to the situation where Kiir, South Sudan's president, dismissed Machar, South Sudan's vice president, and most of his cabinet in July 2013. The dismissed politicians returned the favor by making decisions through internal SPLM decision-making bodies, such as the political bureau, 'in which they were confident they could command majority votes' (Waal and Mohammed 2014). In response, Kiir froze these institutions.

The president was late in calling a meeting of the National Liberation Council, the highest decision-making body of the ruling party, on 14 December 2013, when the dispute erupted into open conflict. The nonviolent dispute metamorphosed into the violent conflict. Kiir has accused the dissenters of attempting a coup d'état. For their part, the dissenters accused the president of revoking the national constitution and the SPLM's procedures and rules.

The second dimension of the current violence in South Sudan is regional and ethnic differences (Waal and Mohammed 2014). Despite the declared intention to establish a socially equitable society in Sudan, the SPLM has always substantiated and justified its military efforts by appeals to ethnic and racial solidarity. This position backfired seriously when the movement split along ethnic lines in the beginning of the 1990s. According to Waal and Mohammed (2014), Khartoum was responsible for igniting ethnic violence in South Sudan, thus fueling these divisions.

Notwithstanding the fact that the weaknesses in South Sudan were not the direct causes of the political conflict in the country in the past two years, political leaders use ethnic divisions to buttress their efforts to mobilize political power, including ethnic differences in the armed forces. The outbreak of conflict on 14 December 2013 clearly showed that the country blew apart along ethnic fractures, rather than political disagreements (Waal and Mohammed 2014).



The third component of the present breakdown of peace in South Sudan is rooted in the army itself. South Sudan's current army is known by its old name, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). Waal and Mohammed (2014) note that the main characteristic of the SPLA is its soldiers' readiness to suffer extreme levels of casualties and to wage bloody resistance.

However, Waal and Mahammed (2014) also highlight that the SPLA is renowned for its poor organization, particularly due to the lack of a basis on which various rival groups could mobilize. As these scholars note, Garang disregarded the idea of creating an army of professional and cohesive military units by putting together ad hoc forces for every battle. According to Waal and Mahammed (2014), the SPLA did not win the war against Khartoum; the conglomeration of regular and irregular fighters that constituted the SPLA only showed Sudan that it would resist forever and that Khartoum would never govern the people of South Sudan against their will.

The ceasefire agreement of 2006 in Juba, which augmented the deal between Kiir and militia leaders, should be considered the president's biggest achievement (Waal and Mahammed 2014). Nonetheless, this agreement could not be a lasting guarantee of peace and stability. There are several reasons why South Sudan's army has never become the backbone for effective state-building and peace. First and foremost, the country's army has never been forged by a national idea, but rather by commercial interests. Waal and Mahammed (2014) correctly note that "the army was little more than a coalition of ethnic units tied together by cash handouts".

The second problem is that the army was a coalition of diverse ethnic units which collaborated with one another as long as cash was paid. The army therefore lacked a central agenda which could have ensured that it is a stable, hierarchical organization. In this connection, Waal and Mahammed (2014) note that disarmament has frequently been

selective, “leaving disarmed communities open to attack by their neighbors” (Waal and Mohammed 2014).

The third problem in relation to South Sudan’s army lies in the fact that the country’s president does not have sufficient power to fight corruption in the armed forces. In 2012, Kiir declared a promise to ‘name and shame’ corrupt army commanders, a statement that the same army officers compelled him to retract. This means that the army of South Sudan has a very unique status as a pseudo-independent entity that exists and operates under its own rules and laws, and supports the country’s president as long as the military commanders are paid. To this end, it is possible to agree with Waal and Mohammed (2014) that, in contrast to many other states, the army of South Sudan is not an institution which “builds a national ethos and common identity but is instead a civil war in waiting”.

In view of the above, Waal and Mohammed (2014) highlight the necessity of putting an end to civil war as an absolute priority. Both the government and the rebels need to halt hostilities, cease ethnic-military mobilization, and start negotiating with the assistance of African mediators. Furthermore, the scholars point out that it is incumbent on the South Sudanese people and authorities, as well as their foreign friends to start the not fast but delicate work of bringing the Warlordism which operates under the banner of the SPLA to an end. According to Waal and Mohammed (2014), in the practice of state building, experience is the most important factor. This suggests that Waal and Mohammed (2014) consider that South Sudan’s leaders have failed to succeed only because they did not have sufficient experience in the field of state-building. It is possible that lack of experience contributed to the overall failure of state-building in South Sudan, taking into consideration that South Sudan has only existed for two and a half of years as an independent state.

Nevertheless, it is unreasonable to blame everything on the lack of experience. A critical analysis of the history of the conflicts between the northern and southern regions of

Sudan reveals that these were driven by the same factors: a) ethnical disparity; b) the lack of a unifying force; in other words, the lack of a clear national ideal; c) corruption, etc. Therefore, it is possible to disagree with Waal and Mahammed (2014) that the current president of South Sudan is inexperienced. The fact is that the country's president has sufficient power to reform the country, and its military, administrative, and other substantial sectors. Nonetheless, it would seem that the president lacks willpower, or political power, to challenge the vision of different military commanders.

## **5.4 Lessons and challenges of nation-building**

### **5.4.1 Lessons of nation-building processes in other post-independent countries which can inform the case of South Sudan**

As noted previously, this study adopted a four-phase strategy to implement the qualitative research design. In the first phase of the research design which is a component part of the literature review, five qualitative case studies were undertaken of other nations that have previously faced nation-building challenges. A qualitative literature review was used for the case studies. This phase was instrumental in identifying the challenges that South Sudan may face in its nation-building efforts as well as vital lessons that the new republic can learn from the successes and failures of other nations. Given that case studies of comparative subjects can be used to predict the outcomes of related contexts, the first phase of the research design was specifically designed to enable the researcher to draw appropriate recommendations for South Sudan, in its nation-building quest.

The first research question thus aimed to identify the lessons that can inform South Sudan's nation-building efforts, drawing on the successes and failures of other equivalent and or near-equivalent countries. The researcher conducted five distinct case studies of comparative African nations that embarked on a nation-building process following highly destructive internal/civil conflicts. The selected case studies included Zimbabwe, Rwanda,

Sierra Leone, Eritrea, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Please refer to section 2.5 of this thesis at p. 131). The case studies were further enriched by a cross-sectional review of the literature on the role of the African Union in resolving contemporary conflicts in the region.

#### **5.4.2 Insights from a nation-building theory for South Sudan**

After conducting qualitative case studies, the next phase of the research design adopted by the study was a qualitative discussion of the nation-building theory. The second research question sought to identify and discuss the insights that can be drawn from the nation-building theory that are relevant to South Sudan's nation-building process. In this phase, the researcher reviewed the literature on nation-building theory to identify the challenges, process stages and recommendations of conventional nation-building. The theory was then discussed in light of the South Sudan context to determine its applicability or otherwise. This provided a theoretical background for the study's findings on the challenges faced by South Sudan in its nation-building quest.

It emerged from the literature review that, in studying the formation and establishment of nations, it is important to consider the factors, ideologies and conditions that influence the coming together and/or destruction of the elements that constitute a nation. Nation-building processes are centered on national ideologies which make a nation appear like an unchanging and well integrated social system of great value. South Sudan is a young African nation that has just attained independence and self-governance, with a five-decade history of civil war, whose pluralist citizenry are yet to attain the strong ideological, cultural, political and economic ties that bind a strong democratic nation together. As such, the first step in nation-building should be the establishment of a binding nationalist ideology around which the pluralist interests of its people come to mutual agreement.

The new government should not, however, expect that this nation-building process will be agreeable and peaceful at all times. Nation-building must be negotiated among many competing interests. The key is maintaining observable long term processes of integration during the course of which tensions and struggles between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies and between established and outsider groups occur as a regular characteristic of these developments. However, these competing interests must be kept in check or mitigated by a strong ideological conviction that makes consensus more appealing than conflict. One of the reasons identified in the literature for why the African continent has largely failed to sustain nation-building is sectarian conflicts between those who hold state power and thus command state resources, and those who have no access to state resources. Nation-building relies on collective responsibility to work within legitimate authority in advancing self and socially acceptable goals. This means that the society allows various representatives to use state resources for the good of all, in an equitable, fair and just manner. This is where African states have failed, leading to internal conflicts that are detrimental to nation-building.

As a pluralist country with many sectarian units, cultural, ethnic and religious, South Sudan's nation-building will only succeed if the government can cultivate a balance of interests and negotiate a truce between various parties such that none will be forced to resort to conflict. Failure to balance the interests of various groups often triggers nation-building failure; this explains the genesis, development and subsequent success of South Sudan's cessation from the North, following their demand for access to national resources, many of which are located in their territory. Ideally, nation-building should enable the expansion of a country's citizenship in a way that gives the citizens the right and ability to democratically participate in the political governance of their state. This invokes the need to build democratic institutions, agencies and processes of governance that serves the public's wishes, needs and aspirations. It is important to note, however, that nation-building requires more

than merely producing formal institutions of democratic governance, and includes the need to build an underlying culture that recognizes, respects and upholds the sanctity of social participation, protects people's unique identities and creates a united social front from within and outside these institutions.

Although the term 'nation-building' is sometimes used synonymously with 'state-building', traditional state-building strictly concerns the establishment or strengthening of state institutions and political systems, while nation-building emphasizes the role of communities and social identities within this process. Indeed, states pursue nation-building programs in light of the advantages derived from a national community which identifies more closely with the values and goals of the state. State-building is an inherently violent and conflict-ridden process. The existence of a cohesive national consciousness encourages cooperation with and participation in state institutions, enhancing the successful functioning of the state. Citizens are more likely to peacefully acknowledge the authority of the state and make sacrifices for the good of the nation, such as paying taxes or submitting to military conscription, when they believe the state is acting on behalf of the national community of which they are a part. A shared national identity encourages mutual trust among citizens, which makes it more likely that they will be able to solve collective problems, support redistributive principles of justice, and practice deliberative forms of democracy.

#### **5.4.3 Social, economic and political challenges facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts, as the country transits from autonomy to independence**

The third research question sought to identify the social, economic and political challenges currently facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts, as the country transits from autonomy to independence. Consequently the third phase of the research design involved gathering and analysing primary data from 50 purposively sampled stakeholders in the South Sudan nation building process using field research (unstructured interviews). This

phase constituted the qualitative phase of the study. It offered different perspectives of the country's nation-building prospects from people who have a direct or indirect stake in the process. Below is a summary of the challenges identified by the various groups of sampled respondents (South Sudan nationals currently residing in the country, South Sudan nationals currently residing in the Diaspora, representatives of South Sudan embassies abroad, foreign diplomats currently posted to South Sudan, representatives from African embassies in South Sudan, representatives from South Sudan-based Non-Governmental Agencies, representatives from foreign-based Non-Governmental Agencies, and finally, a panel of experts).

*a) Social challenges*

1. Divisions among various communities due to grievances carried over from the war.
2. Religious and cultural differences among communities.
3. Child soldiers and despondent youths whose only history is waging war.
4. Dysfunctional social systems and structures to set and enforce basic morals and social conducts.
5. Breakdown of the family unit due to the death and displacement of many family members.
6. Land disputes between residents and returning refugees.
7. Mistrust of new leaders chosen from other communities.
8. A huge population without any economic skills to earn a living that thus turns to crime.
9. Inadequate legal arbitration mechanisms for civil grievances among members of the public in rural areas.
10. A lack of qualified personnel to take up critical professional jobs such as policing, teaching, accountancy, medicine, law practice, etc.
11. Widespread gender-based oppression through outdated cultural practices such as female genital mutilation and under-age forced marriages.

12. Numerous contagious and infectious diseases among the general population resulting in high mortality rates, low life expectancy and an overburdened healthcare sector.
13. The lack of a civil society to play a watchdog role against poor governance, abuse of power and other potential vices of the current government.

*b) Economic challenges*

1. Negligible economic opportunities for the bulk of the population to make a living.
2. Lack of basic infrastructure such as roads, schools and hospitals.
3. High rates of unemployment.
4. Lack of capital and financing for the local population to establish economic enterprise such as business, farming or pastoralist activities.
5. Little international support as many foreign nations deal with their own economic challenges such as the debt crisis in the EU.
6. Lack of basic banking services for the public.
7. Inadequate government funding for central and local government offices to enable effective administration.
8. Over-dependence on oil revenues/lack of diversification of revenue sources.
9. Securing efficient and high return partnerships with the mining companies that extract the country's resources.
10. Financing the relocation of refugees from neighbouring countries back to their original homes with adequate support and relief supplies.
11. Enforcing equitable distribution of national wealth among various regions and communities while simultaneously developing the nation's urban centres to a modern level.

*c) Political challenges*



1. Formulating and implementing national policies on trade, monetary regulation, education, health care, immigration, taxation, agriculture, mining and oil exploration.
2. Creating a central government that can maintain legitimacy among all local communities as a representative government for each and every faction.
3. On-going tensions and conflicts with Sudan's militias and military.
4. Negotiating an agreeable formula to share border regions, resources and oil infrastructure with Sudan.
5. Inadequate local government administrative units in the rural areas to enforce the rule of law.
6. Managing democratic elections in all elective government offices across the country and finding suitable candidates for each post.
7. Hosting foreign embassies as well as finding and funding adequate representatives to diplomatic missions abroad.
8. Finalizing a post-independence constitution and implementing it effectively.
9. Eliminating endemic corruption and wastage of state resources by the ruling elites.
10. Abandonment by the international community as the priority now shifts to other troubled regions such as Syria and Tunisia.
11. The self-centered interests of the international community and foreign agencies.
12. Creating public awareness of various government agendas and policies, and using the various ethnic languages across all rural areas

d) Geographical challenges

1. Supporting agricultural activities in areas that have minimal rainfall and frequent droughts.
2. Lack of a port to facilitate international trade without having to enter into partnerships with neighbouring states for the use of their ports.

3. Numerous health hazards associable with the climate such as malaria, Ebola, visceral leishmaniasis, Buruli ulcers, Guinea worm disease, nodding syndrome and pneumonia.
4. Inaccessibility and scarcity of freshwater supplies to provide adequate clean water for the population.

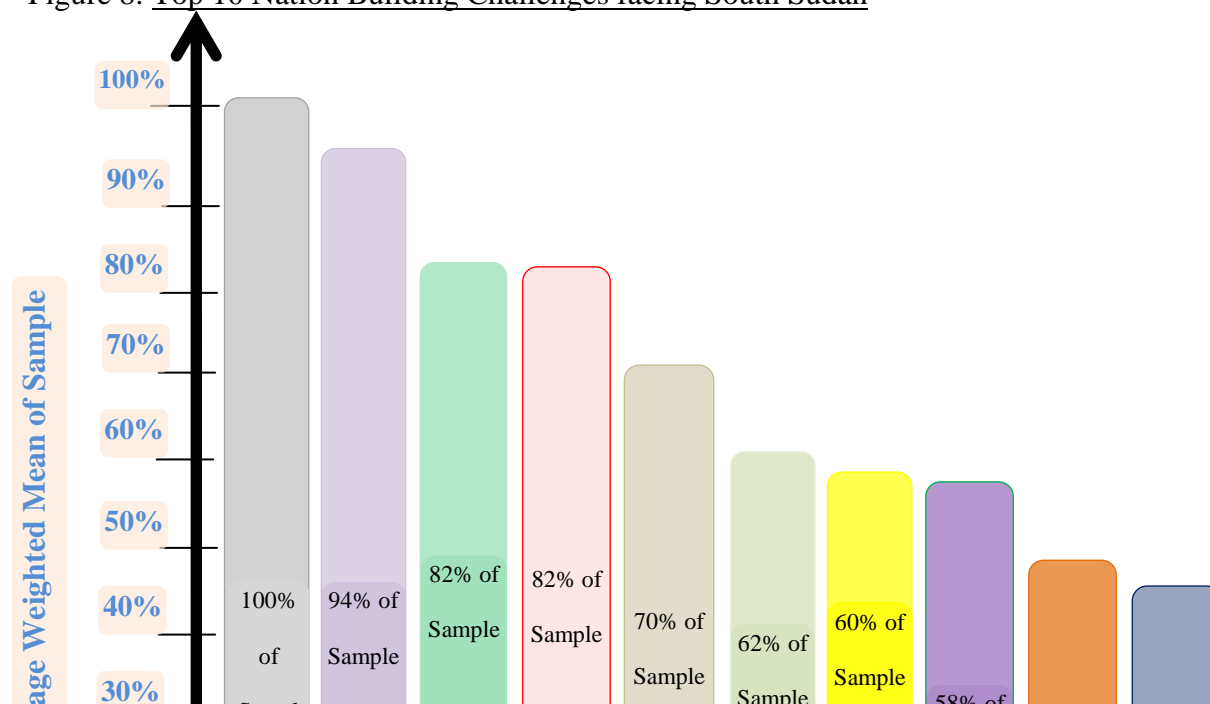
<b>Nation Building Challenge</b>	<b>No. of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage of Sample</b>
Ongoing tensions and conflicts with Sudan's militias and military	50	100%
Negotiating an agreeable formula to share border regions, resources and oil infrastructure with Sudan	47	94%
Over-dependence on oil revenues/lack of diversification of revenue sources	41	82%
Enforcing equitable distribution of national wealth among various regions and communities	41	82%
Lack of capital and financing for the local population to fund economic enterprises	35	70%
Unavailability of qualified personnel to take up critical professional jobs	31	62%
Inadequate government funding for government offices for effective administration	30	60%
Formulating and implementing national policies	29	58%
Numerous contagious and infectious diseases among the general population	26	52%
Managing democratic elections in all elective government offices	25	50%

While this study is qualitative in nature, some quantitative evidence is provided in order to verify the weight of each challenge to nation-building in South Sudan. The use of quantitative data does not contradict the principles of qualitative research, but rather reinforces the qualitative data (Greener 2008, p. 35).

The primary data was collected from 50 respondents, including 15 South Sudan nationals currently residing in the country, 12 South Sudan nationals currently residing in the diaspora (four each from the US, the UK and Canada), three representatives of South Sudan embassies abroad (one each from the US, the UK and Canada), three foreign diplomats currently posted to South Sudan (one each from the US, UK and Canada embassies), four representatives from African Embassies in South Sudan (one each from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa), five representatives from non-governmental agencies currently involved in South Sudan's socio-political environment from within the country, three representatives from international civil society agencies with an interest in South Sudan although based outside the country, and five experts in political science, government and economic development with a high level of specialist knowledge of South Sudan.

The top ten challenges identified by the respondents are illustrated in the following figure in order of decreasing importance based on the percentage weighted mean of the sample size that identified with each challenge.

Figure 8: Top 10 Nation Building Challenges facing South Sudan



#### **5.4.4 The new role of the international community in ensuring that perpetual peace and development prevails in the South Sudan region after independence**

The fourth research question sought to explore the role of the international community in ensuring that perpetual peace and development prevails in the South Sudan region now that the country has gained independence. This research question was answered using qualitative secondary and primary data. Due to its area of interest and predetermined purpose, the study relied heavily on a review of secondary data published by the media, government agencies and peer-reviewed academic journals. This was complemented by the primary data generated from the respondents. The analysis identified eight key roles of the international community in South Sudan's nation building. These include:

- a) Monitoring and enforcing responsible governance by the current South Sudan administration to respect basic human rights, implement the peace agreements and sustain democratic values.
- b) Capacity building assistance in governance, monetary policies, legislation, development programs, conflict resolution and social cohesion.
- c) Foreign aid to complement South Sudan's resources to build basic infrastructure such as rigs, refineries, pipelines, roads, government offices, schools, hospitals, etc.
- d) Providing key expertise (both in terms of expatriate personnel and training opportunities) in the principle sectors of South Sudan's economy where the country lacks adequate manpower.
- e) Bilateral and multilateral partnerships and cooperation for diversified trade and commerce, as well as regional and international political stability.
- f) The establishment and maintenance of civil institutions to support local nation-building efforts through the participation of non-governmental bodies.

- g) Provision of industrial technologies and machinery to enable South Sudan to exploit its natural resources apart from oil, and thus establish a diversified economy.
- h) Mitigation of foreign threats to the country's nation-building process such as invasion by foreign armies, arming of splinter groups by foreign powers, and interruption of the local political processes by foreign interests

**5.4.5 Viable recommendations for the new South Sudan government, the international community, the people of South Sudan and other stakeholders, in tackling current and future nation-building challenges**

The fifth and final research question required the researcher to propose the most viable recommendations to the new South Sudan government, the international community, the people of South Sudan and other stakeholders, in tackling current and future nation-building challenges. This research question was answered using qualitative data collection and analysis. Some of the recommendations were qualitatively sourced from interviews, while the remaining recommendations were sourced from the qualitative case studies and secondary data analysis phases of the study. The study identified 11 significant recommendations, namely:

a) Positive Social Integration as the Basis for Nation-Building

While adopting a two-tier integrated theoretical approach comprising of the social integration and nation-building theories, the study argued that social integration is an important foundation for any nation-building process, as is the glue that binds nation-building efforts. Since social integration is the process through which individuals ... develop and increasingly exercise capacities for interpersonal connectedness and citizenship, when building a nation, it is imperative that the process begin with the building of a strong national identity. Nation-building should go beyond merely producing formal institutions of democratic governance to include building an underlying culture that recognizes, respects and

upholds the sanctity of social participation, protects people's unique identities and creates a unified social front from within and outside these institutions. As a pluralist country with many sectarian units, and cultural, ethnic and religious groups, South Sudan's nation-building will only succeed if the government can achieve a balance of interests and negotiate a truce between the various parties such that none will be forced to resort to conflict.

b) Embracing rather than Suppressing Pluralist Nationalism

Unlike Sudan, South Sudan has a rich share of different ethnic peoples and cultures. While Sudan to the north is a largely Muslim nation with the majority of its population being Arabic-speakers, South Sudan has no dominant ethnic group or culture and is home to a whopping 200 different ethnic groups. Each of these groups speaks its own language, subscribes to Islam, animism or Christianity and has distinct traditional cultures and beliefs. The study identified examples of African nations, particularly Zimbabwe, whose nation-building failure can be traced to its inability to embrace pluralism as strength rather than treating it as a weakness. Pluralist and inclusive nationalism could achieve much when focused on a common goal as was the case when different communities and social groups in Zimbabwe successfully struggled against colonialism, despite their heterogeneous identities. Given South Sudan's rare pluralist population, it is recommended that the government embrace this diversity. South Sudan should never result to authoritarian homogenization that suppresses the differences among its people through coercive, sectarian, hierarchical and divisive policies. The focus should be on understanding and integrating the different communities and their different aspirations in the national agenda, such that all parties focus on successful nation-building without the need to make them a homogenous people.

Ethnic diversity can and should be viewed as a unique and largely positive attribute of a country. Unlike Sudan where Islam is the religious and cultural unifying force, South Sudan will have to build a nation with a diverse set of cultures, religions and ethnicities. The fact

that South Sudan has come so far after decades of civil war is wholly attributable to the collective will and cooperation of different communities. Similarly, the nation's future will be defined by its collective will. The future of South Sudan is largely contingent on the sustainability and support of these collective efforts and as such, rather than ignoring and/or suppressing ethnic diversity, the country should strive to build common ground from which different communities can work together to build their nation. Nation-building should replace previous hostilities and tensions with collective responsibilities pursued in mutual consensus.

Related to this is the issue of reconsidering their nation's name and currency. The name South Sudan was picked in the haste of creating a cessation document and the Information Minister of South Sudan has been reported as saying that over a dozen names have been and are still being suggested for the state. These include Kush Republic, Nile Republic, Azania and Juwama. The minister noted that Republic of South Sudan may be only a temporary name. This means that the people of South Sudan will have a chance to adopt a new name, if necessary. The government should consider using this opportunity as a nation-building strategy. The name South Sudan carries the sentiments of a people whose fate was doomed by their geographical locality in the former Sudan, one that is no longer significant. Now that these people have gained their own nation, the previous sentiments may no longer be necessary. A new name that captures their common destiny, heritage and oneness as a people may help them embrace the common future they share as a distinct people and nation.

Furthermore, a national currency is an important component of statehood as well as an important tool in building nationalism. A common currency will be a vital ingredient in overcoming ethnic differences in South Sudan as will a national anthem, flag, constitution and name. South Sudan may not have the option of using another country's currency as did East Timor who opted to use the U.S. dollar. More than any other country, South Sudan needs to find common factors to unite its highly multi-ethnic population and a common

currency will be an important contribution to this end. The country's oil resources give South Sudan the economic clout to mint its own currency. In doing so, South Sudan should attempt to distance its economy from the Sudan Pound which has been on a major devaluation path ever since it became apparent that the North was losing its hold on oil assets in the South. The Sudanese currency also carries the sentiments of the decades of war that South Sudan should try to avoid. Nonetheless, it is important that South Sudan manages its new currency in a way that will not aggravate relations with its parent country.

### Inclusive Governance

Successful nation-building will depend on the replacement of strong ethnic identities and sentiments with stronger national interests among all communities. This should not be pursued by means of coercion, but by proper governance that stamps out corruption, inequality and high levels of poverty. South Sudan should focus on empowering its people through the provision of quality healthcare, education, private investment, technology, socio-economic transformation (standards of living) and national economic development as the key pillars of post-conflict reconstruction and nation-building. This will override the need for individual communities to pursue ethnic identities and sentiments, and instead help them to cultivate and sustain a unifying national identity and social cohesion. Furthermore, South Sudan should establish credible laws and institutions of governance that formalize the government's mandate to serve its people, enabling the democratic participation of the citizenry in governance such that every community has an active role in national decision-making processes.

The starting point of nation-building is establishing governance structures. In a democracy such as South Sudan, the ideal form of government must be accompanied by elections and electoral systems, regional administration and a fully representative system. At present, South Sudan is operating under a constitution written during the 2005 peace deal that



ended its conflict with Sudan. A final post-independence version of the constitution is not yet in place. This means that South Sudan has yet to produce a document its people can unite behind. Without a final constitution, the country will struggle to assert its independence within its own borders. A valid constitution is an important part of nation-building efforts. As such South Sudan should commit and work towards defining its constitution to help the country frame its politics, the economy and other policy frameworks vital for good governance.

c) Capacity Building and Local Empowerment

Perhaps the single most urgent challenge for South Sudan is enabling its people to participate in the nation-building process by improving their health and educating them to take up the various responsibilities of governance and public service. South Sudan's biggest challenge is perhaps the health of its people and providing healthcare for the entire population. With one out of every eight children dying before the age of five, the highest maternal mortality rate in the world and more than 50% of the population living under the UN-defined poverty line, securing the health of its people is of paramount importance. South Sudan is unfortunate in presenting a unique combination of the worst diseases known to man, some of which have already been completely eradicated everywhere in the world. A recent World Bank report noted that South Sudan is one of the poorest and most neglected areas on earth with possibly the worst health situation in the world. Advances in modern medicine have not yet transformed the lives of the South Sudanese people and the closest they have come to conventional medicine was the limited foreign aid that they relied on during the decades of war. The country currently lacks a health care system and humanitarian groups provide nearly all the doctors and medicine available. South Sudan has only three qualified surgeons serving an area of 204,800 square kilometers, three hospitals of considerable capacity, and 500,000 people are served by one doctor. This is despite the fact that the WHO

estimates that South Sudan has between six and eight million people in need of urgent health care.

The government should urgently focus on the biggest killer diseases in the region, namely, malnutrition, visceral leishmaniasis, Buruli ulcers, diarrhoea, HIV/AIDS, malaria, Ebola, pest infestations, the nodding syndrome, Guinea worm disease and a host of respiratory infections (such as pneumonia). It is important that before funds are committed anywhere else, the new South Sudan government provides adequate medicines for these rare conditions, funds nationwide healthcare programs from scratch, initiates preventative and immunization programs and educates the public on hygiene. This will require substantial financial resources, goodwill, political stability, international support, extensive expatriate healthcare expertise and long-term strategic planning. After providing these urgent health care programs, the government should train healthcare personnel to sustain adequate health care provision.

The need for skilled and professional human resources is indeed urgent not only in healthcare but in every other sector. The government should adopt a stop-gap measure of recruiting expatriates from neighbouring states where there are high levels of unemployment. However, attracting expatriates will require a high level of stability, peace and security. While relying on expatriates in the short term, the government should at the same time commit the bulk of its resources to providing education infrastructure and a policy framework that will enable the country train its own skilled labor force. To overcome some of the most pressing challenges facing South Sudan, the country needs to develop adequate manpower to run vital public services. There is a shortage of qualified personnel to take up positions and responsibilities in the new civil service and the private sector. Even with adequate resources, the nation lacks people to transform these resources into national development. South Sudan is the most under-developed country in the world with only 15% of its citizens able to read.

Of concern is that millions of South Sudan refugees who were educated in other countries and who would be expected to return to build their nation will be unwilling to do so if recent recurrences of conflict continue. Even if South Sudan refugees were to return home, bringing with them vital nation-building skills and expertise, this would largely be a short-term solution to the country's current manpower needs. Hiring expatriates with the relevant skills will also be a temporary measure that cannot be maintained. The government of South Sudan needs to put adequate long-term measures in place to developing the country's own human capital through education.

d) Mitigating and Solving the Causes of Civil War

It is important to note that the major causes of the failure of most post-independence nation-building efforts across Africa ranging from Rwanda to Sierra Leone, Eritrea to Zimbabwe, and Congo to Somalia, has been identified as bad governance practices and systems, corruption, high levels of crime, human rights abuses, economic inequalities, an ineffective and dysfunctional judiciary, poverty, high levels of unemployment among the youth and the use of controversial administrative units. These factors resulted in many African republics resorting to civil war and in so doing, ruining even the little nation-building success they had attained soon after achieving independence. The same triggers prompted South Sudan to seek separation from Sudan, at the cost of decades of tragic warfare. It should be recognized that behind the clamour for South's self-determination and self-rule were people's expectations that such independence would enable them to achieve economic, social and political progress.

South Sudan must necessarily work to make these aspirations a reality if it hopes to succeed in nation-building. This will require improving the health, educational and living standards of the people, investing in infrastructure, upholding good governance, reducing unemployment, balancing resource distribution and respecting both human rights and the rule

of law. If these aspirations are not met, nation-building efforts will translate into war rather than prosperity. Nation-building for South Sudan must be much more than creating a government and governance structures, and having a flag and an anthem; rather, it should involve the pursuit of national solutions for endemic, divisive problems. The only difference between the then Southern Sudan region under the rule of Khartoum and the present Republic of South Sudan will be what independence delivers to the people of South Sudan. If that difference is not made clear and accepted by the people, nation-building will most probably fail as it did in Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Congo and elsewhere.

Therefore, as the new country embarks on nation-building, it should prioritize good governance. It is important that the country prioritizes the key issues that triggered decades of war, and which may yet again jeopardize the gains of independence. It is important that nation-building efforts in South Sudan embrace these lessons and translate the nation-building theory into practice, rather than going through the motions of nation-building without attaining the conflict-causing aspirations of the masses. The government should build strong national institutions and laws for effective people-led governance, institutionalize inclusive policies and politics, improve national economic growth, improve public service delivery, decentralize decision-making and authority to include the participation of ordinary people, and inculcate transparency and accountability in government.

e) Local Initiatives

South Sudan will need immense support and assistance from the international community to overcome the many challenges that confront its nation-building efforts. However, such assistance should complement local initiatives rather than being the solution in itself. Nation-building is a home-grown process and cannot be imported. As such, South Sudan should pursue a nation-building brand that is generated and led from within, where local efforts and commitments supersede international assistance. While welcoming

assistance and support from the international community, South Sudan should be aware that foreign governments and multinationals often come with vested interests. South Sudan must moderate the participation of foreign entities in its national processes, particularly because its vast natural resources, ranging from minerals to oil reserves, are very attractive to factional interests. As demonstrated by the cases of Sierra Leone, Congo and many other African states, nation-building cannot be an imported solution prescribed by international players. South Sudan should therefore create a home-grown solution, crafted from local initiatives, backed by local support, owned by local communities and tailored to fit local needs. The best alternatives proposed in resolving conflicts in delicate regions have included nation-building efforts shaped and led from within the state to ensure local legitimacy and long term sustainability.

f) Nation Building Environment

Nation-building can only succeed in a particular environment. To create such an environment, South Sudan must implement national policies that promote reconciliation, foster national unity, cement peace, pursue equitable development and maintain national security. This means that the government should strive to establish political stability, social order, peace and harmony as well as national security from within and outside its borders. Such an environment will require strong local political leadership, effective local governance systems and efficient socio-political institutions, as the basis of a progressive nation-building agenda.

Eritrea's nationalism provides a perfect illustration of the type of environment required for nation-building. South Sudan should endeavour to build a strong sense of nationalism as the basis of its nation-building process. If cultivated and maintained, nationalism can help South Sudan to overcome the many challenges it faces and to succeed in building a leading African democracy. Even as South Sudan faces its uphill nation building

task, it must find a way to retain its sense of nationalism as demonstrated during the decades of war with the North, leading to the formation and subsequent sovereignty of their nation. This nationalist spirit should never be lost but rather used as the template for national unity in the tough days ahead. Given what the southerners have gone through to earn their freedom, they have a strong sense of common identity that can help them remain united in the next phase of their liberation, nation-building.

g) Socio-Political Support Structure

Besides forming a central government structure, South Sudan should rebuild the social structures that were destroyed by war, ensure that all communities are functional societies. Furthermore, since the country lacks a coherent civil society that is truly independent and contributes to the democratic process, it is important that an environment be created in which such bodies can thrive. Currently, most voluntary associations (NGOs) in South Sudan are implants from foreign nations and their main role is to channel foreign aid to the country. Such bodies do not represent a unified civil front that can help the country develop its democratic process.

South Sudan should recognize the vital role played by civil society in nation-building, and thus support local bodies to freely participate in the democratic process. Local knowledge, cultural and business communities, NGOs and peace-related interest groups should be encouraged to consolidate the collective will of the citizenry, attempt to resolve decades of conflict peacefully and ensure that the transition from war to peace is irreversible. This includes important religious, academic and cultural agencies that can function as democratic vehicles of local interests, aspirations and ideology. It will also be important for South Sudan to install its apparatus for international relations. The country needs to send its ambassadors to friendly states across the globe, embassies of other nations and send

representatives to the international community bodies such as the UN. An international presence is vital in the development of a country's governance system.

h) Ending All Occurrences of Conflict and Aggression Within and along its Borders

Reports that there are still some militias operating within the borders of South Sudan, and that the country has been in frequent violent standoffs with Sudan along its borders, are disheartening. As the two countries continue to negotiate on the contested border areas, the sharing of resources and the relocation of refugee populations, it is of great importance that all conflict and aggression is stopped immediately. Not only has war already cost so many lives, at this point it serves little purpose for either nation. The two sovereign states must disarm their militias, and cultivate lasting peace along their borders, as the negotiations are speeded up to find a permanent settlement. There are numerous adjudication avenues available to South Sudan and Sudan, as both members of the international community, and war is not one of them.

Border relations with Sudan remain a highly sensitive issue that should be addressed expediently. While most of its territory will fall within pre-existing borders with other states from the exterior, South Sudan will have to carve a new borderline with Sudan, its northern neighbour. This borderline was loosely agreed upon during the secession agreement, but the agreement did not resolve some still fiercely disputed territorial borderlines. The oil resources available in such regions and the need to share them between the two states worsen this dispute. However, as the negotiations continue, this is the time to heal their wounds, salvage their dying populations, introduce civilization to their desert villages, forget the nightmare memories of horrific war, and start to build functional states. Nothing, not even the contested border regions, are worth an additional day of violence. South Sudan should learn from the devastation wrought on the Democratic Republic of the Congo by never-ending wars and civil conflicts. Continued warfare will prevent nation-building from progressing. South Sudan

should therefore prioritize the cessation of conflicts with neighbouring Sudan along their shared border, as well as an end to militia warfare within South Sudan since nation-building can only succeed in an environment of peace, security and stability.

i) Bringing Home its Estranged People

Millions of South Sudan citizens are refugees in Sudan, Uganda and many surrounding nations, as well as in Europe and North America. After the world's greatest displacement of people in the decades of conflict, South Sudanese are strewn across the world. However, perhaps the most significant problem is separating its people from those of Sudan. Hundreds of thousands of other southerners are currently living in Sudan while many northerners are currently living in South Sudan in terms of the new border. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are fears that a significant number of formerly Sudanese people will now be rendered stateless since they do not belong to either the new Sudan or the new South Sudan. Looking into the future, South Sudan should permanently address the problem of its refugees, relocate them and provide for their settlement in the new nation; where possible, dual citizenship should be granted.

j) Dealing with the Oil Curse

Its substantial oil reserves are a blessing for South Sudan in view of the immense economic burden the country faces as it starts building a state. Nonetheless, these reserves also pose a significant risk to nation-building. Oil and oil revenues were at the centre of the conflict between the North and the South, and, as the new republic starts its independence journey, oil still represents a potential source of conflict. The future of a truly independent South Sudan is highly dependent on the resolution of such conflicts. This is because most of the current challenges currently facing South Sudan as well as the border disputes between South Sudan and its northern counterpart are related to the struggle for scarce economic



resources such as the vast oil reserves. South Sudan should work aggressively to agree with Sudan on the sharing of these oil resources before further violence erupts.

Furthermore, South Sudan has not diversified its economy and currently derives 98% of its revenue from the petroleum industry. If the border conflict continues to escalate, oil production in the region will be affected as foreign investors will be scared away by the violence. Reduced oil production will inevitably affect the economy of the young nation and eventually undermine the peace and development process in South Sudan. Some of the potential solutions to the oil and border related challenges include encouraging and supporting the government of South Sudan to build its own oil facilities, refineries and pipelines. The oil industry is also problematic since it is prone to corruption, mismanagement and wastage. It is also grossly unsustainable. Oil production in South Sudan has the reputation of being overly toxic and destructive to the environment. The country is yet to join the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, an international initiative that allows human rights and environmental auditors to monitor oil production based on international standards. The industry is also predominantly operated by small companies. There is need to develop a remediation program and to attract reputable global companies to enhance the quality of oil exploration and extraction.

However, even if the country was to invest in increasing its production levels, it would still not be sufficient to stabilize the economy since South Sudan is the single most oil-dependent state in the world. Until the national economy is diversified, the South Sudan government will continue to experience income fluctuations and uncertainties due to changes in the global oil price. This in itself will present a challenge to the country in developing sound macroeconomic policies and frameworks. It is almost impossible to plan long-term infrastructure development and economic diversification with acute revenue fluctuations that a fully-oil dependent nation is bound to experience. Consequently, South Sudan should

diversify its economy away from oil resources into a more sustainable and equitable portfolio.

## **5.5 Assumption Testing**

### **5.5.1 Assumption One**

During the preparatory stages of this study, and the initial literature review that was necessary prior to its implementation, the researcher formulated several assumptions regarding the study's purpose and objectives. These were used as signposts for the most probable findings that could accrue in view of the research purpose. On the subsequent implementation of the study, the assumptions proved inadequate and narrow, in that their formulation had not anticipated the breadth and depth of the issues concerned. This was to be expected since the formulation of these assumptions was based on a preparatory and rudimentary literature review whose only purpose was to shape the study towards its implementation. Nonetheless, the assumptions captured some essential and fundamental propositions many of which held true, in spite of their limited and narrow coverage, to what would ultimately accrue as the study's most informed and comprehensive findings. This chapter now turns to validating and invalidating these hypothetical statements, as each is deserving of attention and in so doing provides a more mature and better-informed analysis of their predictions.

To begin with, the study hypothesized that South Sudan, in its current transitional phase from autonomy to independence, is vulnerable to a unique set of economic, social and political challenges to nation-building. This assumption is fully valid in its assertion. However, part of this assumption was anchored on the contention that the nation-building challenges facing South Sudan are not predictable from current nation-building theory. This assertion is invalid in light of the study's outcomes. According to the study findings, the nation-building theory has provided immensely relevant insights into the problems facing

South Sudan in its nation-building quest, as well as in recommending the most viable potential solutions. The nation-building theory suggests that, in studying the formation and establishments of nations, it is important to consider the factors, ideologies and conditions that influence the coming together and/or destruction of the elements that constitute a nation. South Sudan is a young African nation that has just attained independence and self-governance, with a five-decade history of civil war, and whose pluralist citizenry has yet to attain the strong ideological, cultural, political and economic ties that bind a strong democratic nation together. As such, the first challenge to nation-building that South Sudan faces is the establishment of a binding nationalist ideology. As a pluralist country with many sectarian units, and cultural, ethnic and religious groups, South Sudan's nation-building will only succeed if the government can achieve a balance of interests and negotiate a truce between the various parties such that none will be forced to resort to conflict.

In its second part, the first assumption held that the nation-building challenges facing South Sudan are not predictable, similar to those expounded in the historical accounts of post-conflict reconstruction in other third-world nations. This assertion is also invalid in light of the study's findings.

These same conditions can be used to predict the challenges that might limit the success of South Sudan's nation-building efforts. The study also established that poor governance caused Rwanda to fail in its nation-building quest until it fell into the depths of genocide, and learnt through regrettable outcomes the need for proper governance. It is thus proper to conclude that the nation-building challenges facing South Sudan are indeed predictable in the context of historical accounts of the post-independence and post-conflict reconstruction efforts of other African nations, and in so doing invalidate the first assumption.

### **5.5.2 Assumption Two**

The second assumption postulated by the present study was that if the challenges facing South Sudan are not effectively addressed, they may grossly impair not only the economic and social development of the country but the stability the entire sub-Saharan region. This assumption is valid in view of the study's findings. Successful nation-building in South Sudan will help stabilize the county, improve relations among sub-Saharan Africa nations for better economic and political outcomes, solve the decades-long problem of refugees running to neighboring countries, boost trade partnerships in the region, eliminate the increased cross-border insecurity of neighboring states, and even attract foreign aid and assistance that elevates the region's economic viability. These benefits are, however, dependent on the success of nation-building in South Sudan since if it fails, the study has irrefutably predicted a return to chaos and war in the post-independence era. On this basis therefore, the second assumption of the study is deemed valid.

### **5.5.3 Assumption Three**

The third assumption postulated by the study held that the nation-building theory applies to the case of South Sudan and can provide a fitting implementation model to guide the country to a successful nation-building process. This assumption is indeed valid in view of the findings for the study's second research question. The study established that South Sudan must first establish a binding national identity as proposed by the nation-building theory to unite the competing interests of this pluralist society and rally its common interests towards the nation-building goal. It also emerged that the nation-building process should follow the principles established by the theory, including gaining international recognition, establishing an inclusive, democratically-elected central government, negotiating acceptable national borders with all its neighbors, particularly Sudan, determining its citizenship including that of its displaced refugees, enacting an independent constitution, deciding on the

state's name and national currency, and creating a national flag and national anthem. Many of these requirements of the nation-building theory have been incorporated into the study's recommendations in response to research question five. As such, the findings of the study provide a basis to validate the third assumption.

#### **5.5.4 Assumption Four**

The fourth assumption of the study contended that, South Sudan's transition from autonomy to independence cannot succeed without the active engagement of the international community, but that this engagement must be unique to the context of South Sudan. This assertion is valid in view of the study's findings. However, part of the assumption contended that the active engagement of the international community should not involve imposing nation-building prescriptions as has been the case in other third-world countries. Furthermore, the assumption asserted that international participation should be restricted to facilitating internal dialogue, democratic governance and capacity building in a manner that allows South Sudan to face its unique challenges with a unique home-grown approach. The study's findings provide adequate validation for the fourth assumption in all its assertions. Using the case study of Sierra Leone, where the extensive engagement of the international community resulted in the failure of its nation-building process, the study has argued that South Sudan's nation-building process must be a home-grown solution, crafted from local initiatives, backed by local support, owned by local communities and tailored to fit local needs. Foreign aid and assistance to Sierra Leone was attached the selfish interests of the foreign nations, resulting in increased divisive conflicts and warfare. As such, while South Sudan will need immense support and assistance from the international community to overcome the many challenges that face its nation-building efforts, such assistance should complement local initiatives rather than being the solution in itself. The study found that South Sudan must pursue a nation-building brand that is generated and led from within,

where local efforts and commitments supersede international assistance. As such, based on these findings, the study validates the fourth assumption in full.

#### **5.5.5 Assumption Five**

The fifth and final assumption of the study contended that, a case analysis of other states that have undergone post-conflict nation-building processes provides significant lessons for South Sudan. This assertion is true for all the five case studies conducted, which constituted the findings for the study's second research question. Furthermore, the fifth assumption held that South Sudan will only be successful in its nation-building quest is if the country resolves all current and past conflicts, initiate healing and reconciliation, and permanently addresses the issues brewing causing recurrent conflicts between tribes; otherwise, nation-building will fail, as has been the case elsewhere when some conflicts are left unaddressed. The assumption also held that South Sudan must first build a nationalistic ideology that unites all its peoples and then invest in a progressive democratic process of governance as the very first steps of nation-building, since its unique history and social-economic context makes national identity and unity the foundation of any nation-building process. These assertions are valid in light of all the findings of the study, as adequately espoused in the recommendations of the study in the findings for research question five. On this basis therefore, this assumption is deemed valid in full.

### **5.6 Chapter Summary**

This chapter analyzed and presented the findings generated by this study. The findings were arranged systematically in accordance with the five research questions posed by the study. The chapter also presented a brief section on assumptions testing, where the five assumptions formulated by the study were either validated or invalidated on the basis of the findings. The first research question sought to identify the lessons that can inform South Sudan's nation-building efforts, based on case studies of the successes and failures of other

equivalent and/or near-equivalent countries. The findings generated from five distinct case studies of comparative African nations that have previously embarked on a nation-building process following highly destructive internal/civil conflicts, namely, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Eritrea, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, were summarized and the relevance, insights and lessons generated from these case studies were highlighted.

The second research question sought to identify and discuss the insights that can be gained from the nation-building theory that are relevant to South Sudan's nation-building process. The study analyzed the literature on the nation-building theory and derived a variety of insights that should be applied to South Sudan's nation-building process. In summary, it emerged that, as a pluralist country with many sectarian units, and cultural, ethnic and religious groups, South Sudan's nation-building will only succeed if the government can maintain a balance of interests and negotiate a truce between the various parties such that none will be forced to resort to conflict. The third research question sought to identify the social, economic and political challenges currently facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts, as the country transits from autonomy to independence. The challenges identified by the primary data were presented and compared in terms of their significance and relevance.

The fourth research question sought to explore the role of the international community in ensuring that perpetual peace and development prevail in the South Sudan region now that the country has gained independence. Eight key roles of the international community in South Sudan's nation-building were identified from the literature review and the respondents' perspectives. These include a) monitoring and enforcing responsible governance by the current South Sudan administration, b) capacity building assistance in governance, monetary policies, legislation, development programs, conflict resolution and social cohesion, c) foreign aid to complement South Sudan's resources in building basic infrastructure, d) providing key expertise both in terms of expatriate personnel and training opportunities, e)

bilateral and multilateral partnerships and cooperation, f) establishing and maintaining civil institutions to support local nation-building efforts, g) providing industrial technologies and machinery to enable South Sudan to exploit its natural resources, and h) mitigating foreign threats to the country's nation-building process.

The fifth and final research question required the researcher to propose the most viable recommendations for the new South Sudan government, the international community, the people of South Sudan and other stakeholders, in tackling current and future nation-building challenges. The study identified 11 significant recommendations, namely, a) positive social integration as the basis for nation-building, b) embracing rather than suppressing pluralist nationalism, c) inclusive governance, d) capacity building and local empowerment, e) mitigating and solving the causes of civil war, f) local initiatives, g) creating an enabling nation-building environment, h) socio-political support structure, i) ending all occurrences of conflict and aggression within and along its borders, j) bringing home its estranged people, and finally, k) dealing with the oil curse.

Following these findings, the chapter proceeded to test the assumptions postulated by the study prior to its implementation. The first assumption contended that, in its current transitional phase from autonomy to independence, South Sudan is vulnerable to a unique set of economic, social and political challenges to nation-building. This assertion was found to be valid. However, part of this assumption was anchored on the contention that the nation-building challenges facing South Sudan are not predictable from current nation-building theory, an assertion that was found invalid in light of the study's outcomes. The study held that the nation-building theory provides immensely relevant insights into the problems facing South Sudan in its nation-building quest, and recommended the most viable potential solutions. Furthermore, the first assumption's assertion that the nation-building challenges facing South Sudan are not predictable, similar to those expounded in historical accounts of



post-conflict reconstruction in other third-world nations, was also found invalid in light of the study's findings. This study expounded on the predictable causes of nation-building failure in Sierra Leone (the lack of a local initiative against a foray of competing, self-serving foreign interests), Zimbabwe (coercive and authoritarian suppression of pluralist nationalism) and the democratic Republic of Congo (never-ending civil wars and conflict), thus concluding that the nation-building challenges facing South Sudan are indeed predictable in the context of historical accounts of the post-independence and post-conflict reconstruction efforts of other African nations, and in so doing invalidating the first assumption.

The second assumption held that if the challenges facing South Sudan are not effectively addressed, they may grossly impair not only the economic and social development of the country but the stability the entire sub-Saharan region. This assumption is valid in view of the study's findings. The third assumption postulated by the study held that the nation-building theory applies to the case of South Sudan and can provide a fitting implementation model to guide the country to a successful nation-building process. It was concluded that the findings of the study provide a basis to validate the third assumption. The fourth assumption contended that, South Sudan's transition from autonomy to independence cannot succeed without the active engagement of the international community, but this engagement must be unique to the context of South Sudan. The study's findings provide adequate validation for the fourth assumption in all its assertions. Finally, the fifth assumption of the study contended that, a case analysis of other states that have undergone post-conflict nation-building processes provides significant lessons for South Sudan. This assertion was found true and hence valid in all five case study analyses. Having presented the findings of the study, and tested the study's assumptions, the next and final chapter concludes the study.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **6.0 Summary, Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations**

#### **6.1 Chapter Introduction**

This final chapter of the thesis presents a summary of the study, a discussion of its findings, a final conclusion and appropriate recommendations. Following this brief introduction, the following section highlights the research purpose, objective, aims, questions and assumptions. This is followed by a summary of the study, including the research process and the findings. The overall conclusion is followed by the recommendations based on the findings and suggestions for further/future research.

#### **6.2 Overview of Research Purpose, Objectives and Questions**

This study sought to investigate the challenges that are facing the newly-independent Republic of South Sudan with special reference to the path that the country must navigate from its former autonomous status within greater Sudan to a fully vibrant and independent nation. The researcher hoped to contribute to the on-going debate on the search for solutions to the specific nation-building problems confronting the country, as well as emphasizing the importance of peace within and outside the territorial confines of South Sudan. Furthermore, the researcher, a South Sudan national, was interested in contextualizing the need for unity amongst the country's numerous tribes that now have to coexist within the economic, political, social and cultural development of a new republic. Overall the study aimed to recommend the prioritization of internal cohesion within South Sudanese society as the pathway to the building of a vibrant and robust new African nation.

In view of these interests, the study aimed to explore, identify and discuss the social, economic and political challenges to nation-building currently faced by South Sudan now that the war-torn nation has finally attained full independence after decades of struggle for autonomy and self-determination. The purpose of the study was thus to examine recent

national and international events in the making of the world's youngest country, grounding the discussion in the nation-building theory; to provide case study analysis of other African and Asian nations that have undergone similar or near-similar processes; to conduct an empirical investigation using primary data to identify the challenges that the country faces in its nation-building quest; to make predications concerning South Sudan's future; and to offer literature-based recommendations on how to tackle such challenges, and by so doing chart the way forward for this young, troubled, yet promising nation.

Prior to its implementation, the researcher noted that the present study was fundamental/pure research focused on increasing our understanding of South Sudan's nation-building process by identifying and discussing the challenges confronting this process. This is in contrast to action research that would have sought to provide solutions to existing problems. The researcher opted for fundamental research since identifying and discussing nation-building challenges did not require the provision of immediate solutions or benefits to South Sudan, but rather a fundamental understanding of the unique challenges confronting the country's nation-building process. In this way, the study hoped to provide insights that can guide successful nation-building for the youngest nation in the world. Towards this end, the study set a five-pronged overall aim of providing a literature and evidence-based discussion of South Sudan's nation-building task, detailing the social, economic and political challenges facing the nation in its transition from autonomy to independence, and providing recommendations based on a critical overview of international case studies, the nation-building theory, and the renewed role of the international community.

The narrow objectives component of this purpose and aim included a) to review the successes and failures of other equivalent and or near-equivalent countries that have previously undergone the same nation-building process after independence with the aim of this knowledge to South Sudan's nation building efforts, b) to provide an overview of the

nation-building theory based on the literature and how it applies to South Sudan, c) to empirically investigate the social, economic and political challenges currently facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts, as it transits from a bloody autonomy to a peaceful independence, d) to explore the role of the international community in ensuring that perpetual peace and development prevail in the South Sudan region after independence, and finally, e) to make recommendations based on the study's findings, that could help the new South Sudan government, the international community, the people of South Sudan and other stakeholders, to tackle current and future nation-building challenges, and by so doing chart the way forward for this young, troubled, yet promising nation.

To facilitate the attainment of the study's purpose, aim and objectives, the researcher formulated five distinct research questions. The answers generated for these five research questions ultimately constituted the findings of the present study. The five research questions thus formulated were a) What lessons from the successes and failures of other equivalent and or near-equivalent countries that have previously undergone the same nation-building process after independence can inform South Sudan's nation-building efforts?, b) What insights can be drawn from the nation-building theory for the South Sudan case study?, c) Which social, economic and political challenges are facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts, as the country transits from autonomy to independence?, d) What is the new role of the international community in ensuring that perpetual peace and development prevail in the South Sudan region after its independence?, and finally, e) Which are the most viable recommendations for the new South Sudan government, the international community, the people of South Sudan and other stakeholders, in tackling current and future nation-building challenges? In the final analysis, the study was able to attain its purpose, aim and objectives, as well as answer all the research questions.

### **6.3 Summary of the Study**

#### **6.3.1 Summary of the Research Process**

During the study's implementation the researcher adopted a qualitative research design with a descriptive research approach, integrating qualitative research methods so as to optimize the strength of each methodology while at the same time minimizing the weaknesses of each method. The descriptive methodological approach was chosen primarily because most of the data generated for and analyzed by the study described the nation-building challenges. The qualitative research design comprised a four-phase implementation strategy. In the first phase of the research design, which is a component part of the literature review, five qualitative case studies were conducted of other nations that have previously faced nation-building challenges both within and outside Africa. This phase was instrumental in qualitatively identifying the challenges that South Sudan may face in its nation-building efforts, as well as vital lessons that the new republic can learn from the successes and failures of other nations.

The second phase of the research design was a qualitative document analysis and literature review. The secondary data analysis was conducted qualitatively using a thematic framework. The third phase of the research design involved gathering primary data from 50 purposively sampled stakeholders in the South Sudan nation-building process using field research (unstructured interviews). This phase constituted the qualitative phase of the study which solely collected and analyzed primary data from respondents regarding the challenges confronting South Sudan in the nation-building process from the various perspectives of those who have a direct or indirect stake in the process.

The target population for the study was the multi-perspective body of stakeholders in the South Sudan nation-building process, incorporating various interest groups who have direct experience of where the country has come from, where it is currently and where it is

likely to go in the future. This included people who have witnessed, participated in, or have vested interests in the nation-building process, either as people who are currently facing the nation-building challenges that are of interest to this study, or who have first-hand informed knowledge of such challenges. The researcher settled on a purposive sample of 50 respondents, incorporating 15 South Sudan nationals currently residing in the country, 12 South Sudan nationals currently residing in the Diaspora (four each from the US, the UK and Canada) three representatives of South Sudan embassies abroad (one each from the US, the UK and Canada), three foreign diplomats currently posted to South Sudan (one each from the US, UK and Canada embassies), four representatives from African embassies in South Sudan (one each from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa), five representatives from non-governmental agencies currently involved in socio-political issues in South Sudan from within the country, three representatives from international civil society agencies with an interest in South Sudan although based outside the country, and finally, five experts in political science, government and economic development with a high level of specialist knowledge of South Sudan.

### **6.3.2 Summary of Findings**

In the first instance, the study established various lessons that South Sudan can learn from five distinct case studies of comparative African nations that have previously embarked on a nation-building process following highly destructive civil conflicts. The case studies reviewed were Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Eritrea, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The relevance, insights and lessons generated from these case studies were summarized. With regard to the case of Zimbabwe, the study found that the most vital lesson for South Sudan is the value of pluralist nationalism. Zimbabwe illustrates that pluralist and inclusive nationalism can achieve much when focused on a common goal as was the case when different communities and social groups in the country, despite heterogeneous

identities, successfully struggled against colonialism. However, after independence, homogenizing nation-building efforts lead to authoritarian nationalism that is now responsible for ruining a once-promising state. South Sudan has a rare, pluralist population, with numerous ethnic groups, languages, religions and cultures; therefore it should embrace this diversity in order to focus different communities and their different aspirations on successful-nation building without the need to make them a homogenous people. The study thus concluded that South Sudan should embrace rather than suppress the differences among its people. Rather than seek for authoritarian homogenization, South Sudan would be better placed to pursue a nation-building approach that accepts, embraces and cements pluralism.

In the case of Rwanda, the study found that South Sudan should learn from the features that led Rwanda to post-independence failures so that the new country does not repeat the same mistakes. These included a) social and economic exclusion legitimized by the government between 1962 to 1994, b) sectarianism and divisive leadership, c) strong ethnic identities and sentiments, d) governance by coercion, e) widespread corruption and inequality, f) high levels of poverty, g) misuse of foreign aid, and finally, h) the poor status of such key areas as healthcare, education, private investment and technology as well as stagnated socio-economic transformation. According to the study's findings, Rwanda's post-conflict reconstruction and nation-building successes that South Sudan should imitate include a) conscious cultivation and sustenance of a unifying national identity since national identity is the foundation of a nation's social cohesion b) establishing credible laws and institutions of governance that can formalize the government's mandate to serve its people, c) participation of the citizenry in governance processes by determining the systems that best fit their needs, electing leaders democratically and playing an active role in national decision-making processes, d) economic transformation that enables those who were previously disadvantaged to experience qualitative improvement in their lives, especially through national economic

development, e) a process generated and led from within where local efforts and commitments supersede international assistance, and finally, f) stability, order, peace and national security, which requires strong local political leadership, effective systems and efficient institutions.

In the case of Sierra Leone, the study found that governance can determine the success or failure of nation-building efforts. The main causes of the failure of post-reconstruction efforts in Sierra Leone are bad governance practices and systems, corruption, high levels of crime, human rights abuses, economic inequalities, an ineffective and dysfunctional judiciary, poverty, high levels of unemployment among the youth and the use of controversial administrative units. South Sudan should avoid repeating these mistakes. Furthermore, the Sierra Leone example provides vivid lessons for South Sudan. It is important that the country prioritizes the key issues that triggered the decades of war. It should be recognized that behind the clamor for the South's self-determination and self-rule were people's expectations that independence would enable them to attain economic, social and political progress. The study thus concluded that South Sudan must necessarily work to make these aspirations a reality if it hopes to succeed in nation-building. This will translate into improving the health, educational and living standards of the people, investing in infrastructure, upholding good governance, reducing unemployment, balancing resource distribution and respecting both human rights and the rule of law.

It also emerged that South Sudan can learn much from Eritrea's legendary nationalist spirit that survived even during the country's darkest hour. The uniqueness of Eritrea's liberation movement and the subsequent exemplary nation-building efforts are often attributed to the fact that the nation was formed on a basis of strong nationalism of a kind that has not been exemplified anywhere else in Africa, particularly during crisis. This was a country that retained its sense of nationalism during its formation and subsequent



sovereignty, and never lost the sense of national unity even during the pre- and post-independence conflicts. While Eritrea confronted almost all of the usual conflict-borne problems of balancing race, class, gender, resources and power, it demonstrated a rare African case of success where nationalism triumphed over bi-partisan interests. The study thus concluded that South Sudan must endeavor to build a strong sense of nationalism as the basis of their nation-building process.

In the last case study, the study established that South Sudan should learn the importance of maintaining peace, stability and security from Congo. Congo's never-ending wars and civil conflicts are to blame for the country's inability to consolidate its nation-building success. The study thus concluded that South Sudan should prioritize an end to the conflicts with neighboring Sudan along their shared border, as well as an end to militia warfare within South Sudan since nation-building can only succeed in an environment of peace, security and stability. Furthermore, while welcoming the assistance and support of the international community, South Sudan must be aware that foreign governments and multinationals have their own vested interests. As such, South Sudan must moderate the participation of foreign entities in their national processes, particularly because their vast natural resources ranging from minerals to oil reserves are very attractive to factional interests

Thereafter, the study reported on the findings on the applicability of the nation-building theory in South Sudan. It analyzed the literature on the nation-building theory and derived a variety of insights that should be applied to South Sudan's nation-building process. In summary, as a pluralist country with many sectarian units, and cultural, ethnic and religious groups, South Sudan's nation-building will only succeed if the government can cultivate a balance of interests and negotiate a truce between various parties such that none will be forced to resort to conflict.

The third research question sought to identify the social, economic and political challenges currently facing South Sudan in its nation-building efforts, as the country transits from autonomy to independence. The challenges identified from the primary data were presented and compared in terms of their significance and relevance. The social challenges identified included a) divisions among various communities due to grievances carried over from the war, b) religious and cultural differences among communities, c) child soldiers and despondent youth whose only history is waging war, d) dysfunctional social systems and structures to set and enforce basic morals and social conduct, e) the breakdown of the family unit due to the death and displacement of many family members, f) land disputes between residents and returning refugees, g) mistrust of new leaders chosen from other communities, h) a huge population without any economic skills to earn a living that thus resorts to crime, i) inadequate legal arbitration mechanisms for civil grievances among members of the public in rural areas, j) the unavailability of qualified personnel to take up critical professional jobs such as policing, teaching, accountancy, medicine, law practice, etc., k) widespread gender-based oppression through out-dated cultural practices such as female genital mutilation and under-age forced marriages, l) numerous contagious and infectious diseases among the general population resulting in high mortality rates, low life expectancy and an overburdened healthcare sector, and finally m) the lack of a civil society to play a watchdog role against poor governance, abuse of power and other potential vices of the current government.

The economic challenges identified included a) negligible economic opportunities for the bulk of the population to make a living, b) a lack of basic infrastructure such as roads, schools and hospitals, c) high rates of unemployment, d) a lack of capital and financing for the local population to fund economic enterprises such as business, farming or pastoralist activities, e) little international support as many foreign nations deal with their own economic challenges such as the debt crisis in the EU, f) a lack of basic banking services for the public,

g) inadequate government funding for central and local government offices to enable effective administration, h) over-dependence on oil revenues/lack of diversification of revenue sources, i) securing efficient and high return partnerships with mining companies who extract the country's resources, j) financing the relocation of refugees from neighbouring countries back to their original homes with adequate support and relief supplies, and finally, k) enforcing the equitable distribution of national wealth among various regions and communities while simultaneously developing the nation's urban centres to a modern level.

The political challenges identified included a) formulating and implementing national policies on trade, monetary regulation, education, health care, immigration, taxation, agriculture, mining and oil exploration, b) creating a central government that can maintain legitimacy among all local communities as a government that represents each and every faction, c) ongoing tensions and conflicts with Sudan's militias and military, d) negotiating an acceptable formula to share the border regions, resources and oil infrastructure with Sudan, e) inadequate local government administrative units in the rural areas to enforce the rule of law, f) managing democratic elections in all elective government offices across the country and finding suitable candidates for each post, g) hosting foreign embassies as well as finding and funding adequate representatives to diplomatic missions abroad, h) finalizing a post-independence constitution and implementing it effectively, i) eliminating endemic corruption and wastage of state resources by the ruling elites, j) abandonment by the international community as the priority now shifts to other troubled regions such as Syria and Tunisia, k) the self-centered interests of the international community and foreign agencies, and finally, l) creating public awareness of various government agendas and policies, using the various ethnic languages across all rural areas.

The geographical challenges identified included a) supporting agricultural activities in areas that have minimal rainfall and frequent droughts, b) lack of a port to facilitate

international trade without having to enter into partnerships with neighbouring states for the use of their ports, c) the numerous health hazards associable with the climate such as malaria, Ebola, visceral leishmaniasis, Buruli ulcers, Guinea worm disease, nodding syndrome and pneumonia, and d) the inaccessibility and scarcity of freshwater supplies to provide adequate clean water for the population.

Thereafter, the researcher selected the ten most prominent challenges confronting South Sudan's nation-building based on the number of respondents in the sample who identified each challenge. These factors, arranged in order of decreasing significance included, a) ongoing tensions and conflicts with Sudan's militias and military (100% of the sample), b) negotiating an acceptable formula to share border regions, resources and oil infrastructure with Sudan (94% of the sample), c) over-dependence on oil revenues/lack of diversification of revenue sources (82% of the sample), d) enforcing the equitable distribution of national wealth among various regions and communities (82% of the sample), e) a lack of capital and financing for the local population to fund economic enterprises (70% of the sample), f) the unavailability of qualified personnel to take up critical professional jobs (62% of the sample), g) inadequate government funding for government offices for effective administration (60% of the sample), h) formulating and implementing national policies (58% of the sample), i) numerous contagious and infectious diseases among the general population (52% of the sample), and j) managing democratic elections in all elective government offices (50% of the sample).

In the fourth research question, the study explored the role of the international community in ensuring that peace and development prevail in the South Sudan region now the country has gained its independence. It emerged from the analysis that there are eight key roles of the international community in South Sudan's nation-building, as identified in the reviewed literature and cited by the respondents. These include a) monitoring and enforcing

responsible governance by the current South Sudan administration, b) capacity building assistance in governance, monetary policies, legislation, development programs, conflict resolution and social cohesion, c) foreign aid to complement South Sudan's resources in building basic infrastructure, d) provision of key expertise both in terms of expatriate personnel and training opportunities, e) bilateral and multilateral partnerships and cooperation, f) establishment and maintenance of civil institutions to support local nation-building efforts, g) provision of industrial technologies and machinery to enable South Sudan exploit its natural resources, and h) mitigation of foreign threats to the country's nation-building process.

Finally, the study proposed the most viable recommendations for the new South Sudan government, the international community, the people of South Sudan and other stakeholders, in tackling current and future nation-building challenges. It identified 11 significant recommendations, namely a) positive social integration as the basis for nation-building, b) embracing rather than suppressing pluralist nationalism, c) inclusive governance, d) mitigating and solving the causes of civil war, e) local initiatives, f) creating an enabling nation-building environment, g) a socio-political support structure, h) ending all occurrences of conflict and aggression within and along its borders, i) bringing home its estranged people, j) capacity building and local empowerment, and finally, k) dealing with the oil curse. Based on these findings, the researcher tested the assumptions posed at the beginning of the study. All the assumptions were validated as true, except for the first assumption which was qualitatively invalidated.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

In preparing for this study, the researcher was tempted to focus only on the challenges to nation-building that South Sudan is facing. This would have simply required a listing of these challenges on the part of the respondents. However, the researcher understood that such

a list would add little to the available body of knowledge, and would in effect be of little or no use to those interested in the discourse on South Sudan. The valuable contribution of this study would be in contextualizing these challenges within the unique conditions, situations, experiences and traits of South Sudan as the world's newest republic, a country that has just emerged from decades of Africa's longest and deadliest war. Put in this context, the challenges identified could be visualized in their true nature, in the manner that they are challenges, and in the effort required to overcome them. For instance, the provision of quality health care is a challenge to every African nation today. Simply identifying health care provision as a challenge facing South Sudan makes no significant contribution to knowledge.

However, this study extended the scope and contextualized the identified challenges in a way that provided a deeper meaning. The study used qualitative case studies of comparative nations, provided a theoretical grounding and then complemented these findings with secondary data analysis. This meant, for example, that besides identifying health care provision as a challenge in Sudan, the study found that the country has no health care system at all, that it is the world's worst region in terms of health care, that it has only three surgeons for every half a million people, suffers from many of the diseases already eradicated everywhere else in the world, and has the worst combination of killer diseases ever recorded, that 20% of South Sudan children die before the age of 5, and many other details that place this challenge in context. This study did not simply enumerate the challenges faced by South Sudan in its nation-building quest, but provided the context in which these challenges can be realistically and accurately understood. Considering this study in retrospect, it is clear that it attained its purpose, aim, and objectives, and answered all its research questions satisfactorily. It has provided a detailed explanation of each of these challenges in the context of South Sudan's nation-building.

More comprehensive primary data research could have recruited more respondents in a more random manner and employed more data collection tools. This study provided limited findings based on each of these three methodologies. It is therefore hoped that the findings have adequately served the purpose that this study set out to achieve and that future scholarship may enrich these findings using either one of the methodologies on a larger scale.

The researcher is also a national of South Sudan and might at times been influenced by his loyalty to his motherland in his research activities. However, the standardization of the process and instruments helped maintain a reliable level of professionalism and objectivity. The research process itself was also marred by numerous challenges. Financial and time constraints limited the research activities and the scope of data collection analysis. Furthermore, the fact that the researcher is a foreign student abroad with minimal access to South Sudan, made it very difficult to enrich the study as much as would have been desired. Nonetheless, all attempts were made to ensure that the study made a reliable, comprehensive and valid contribution to the available body of knowledge. The researcher hopes to engage further in this line of research in the future, and perhaps to improve the current research outcomes with greater flexibility in resources, time and availability. The findings generated by this study are intended to help stakeholders in South Sudan's nation-building process to pursue optimal outcomes. Being cognizant of these challenges is the first step towards the country's future, since failure to do so, may lead to nation-building failure the like of which has been experienced across Africa before.

## **6.5 Recommendations**

### **6.5.1 Recommendations based on the Findings**

Part of this study's purpose was the formulation of the most viable recommendations to enable stakeholders in South Sudan to achieve ideal outcomes in the nation-building process. These recommendations were identified and comprehensively discussed to answer

research question five. The study endorses these 11 recommendations in full. In brief, they include:

- a) The government of South Sudan should endeavor to promote positive social integration among the numerous ethnic communities and social groups in the country as the basis of nation-building.
- b) The government should embrace rather than suppress the pluralist nationalism that unites the diverse peoples of South Sudan to rally behind the nation-building cause.
- c) The government of South Sudan should prioritize inclusive democratic governance that improves the lives of the people and enables them to attain their dream of self-governance and self-determination.
- d) Stakeholders must urgently collaborate in mitigating and solving the causes of civil war that prompted South Sudan's desire for separation from Sudan, and which have been the cause of civil war and conflict in many other African countries.
- e) South Sudan's nation-building must be based on local initiatives and tailored to serve local needs, such that the process provides a local solution rather than one imported from the international community.
- f) A conducive nation-building environment requires peace, stability, good governance, equity and economic development. The government of South Sudan should work towards optimizing such an environment as a priority in the nation-building quest.
- g) The government of South Sudan should also facilitate the creation of a socio-political support structure that promotes good governance and social support mechanisms.
- h) Stakeholders in South Sudan's nation-building process should make a concerted effort to end all occurrences of conflict and aggression within and along its borders, in order to create an enabling nation-building environment.



- i) The country should formulate and implement its citizenship policies, including the return and relocation of South Sudan refugees.
- j) The government of South Sudan should urgently focus its energy and resources on capacity building and local empowerment through the provision of quality health care and education programs to train and sustain viable human resource capital.
- k) Finally, the government of South Sudan should seek to permanently solve the problems in the oil industry through improved regulation, diversification and better exploitation of natural resources.

In addition, it is expected that the government of South Sudan will learn lessons from nation-building initiatives in other African countries. These lessons are displayed in the following table.

TABLE 1: Comparative Summary of Case Studies of Nation-Building Processes and Outcomes

Case Study Nation	Key Theme of Analysis	Relevance to South Sudan	Success in Nation- Building	Key Facts Emerging from Case Study	Lessons applicable to South Sudan
Zimbabwe	The formation of a new state, building nationalism and the consolidation of self-governance among heterogeneous peoples	South Sudan has a rare, pluralist population, with numerous ethnic groups, languages, religions and cultures. The important question is whether South Sudan should pursue nation-building by suppressing or	NO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Zimbabwe is a classic example of successfully attaining independence, having great potential for advancement and yet ultimately becoming a failed, self-ruling African state.</li> <li>• Zimbabwe was considered an African success story upon independence until it fell under the dictatorial misrule of Robert Mugabe</li> <li>• Upon gaining independence, most African leaders have struggled to build nations within the geographical boundaries that were installed by colonialists despite the fact that these geographical regions encompassed highly heterogeneous populations prior to colonial rule</li> <li>• The struggle for independence helped bring these different communities together under one goal (liberation). However,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The case of Zimbabwe illustrates the achievements and limitations of nation-building, a vital lesson for South Sudan.</li> <li>• Zimbabwe illustrates how pluralist and inclusive nationalism could achieve much when focused on a common goal as was the case when different communities and social groups in Zimbabwe successfully fought colonialism despite heterogeneous identities.</li> <li>• However, after independence, homogenizing nation-building efforts led to authoritarian nationalism that is now responsible for ruining a once-promising state.</li> <li>• South Sudan has a rare pluralist population, with</li> </ul>

		embracing pluralism		<p>after fighting for and attaining independence, the heterogeneous populations did not automatically translate to a singular harmoniously bonded nation.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liberation struggles positively acknowledged and embraced the heterogeneous contributions of different people to the same cause. However, after gaining independence, Zimbabwe's nationalist liberation movements ignored and even sought to suppress the fragmented diversity. Nation-building in Africa has failed because instead of accepting the differences between the African communities in one state, nation-building efforts have tried to suppress such differences into commonality</li> <li>• Although it was possible for different communities and social groups to share a common goal because all of them shared common experiences of marginalization, suffering, land alienation and authoritarianism, which were common issues under Zimbabwe's white rule, post-independence Zimbabwe mistook this seemingly harmonious unity among different communities and social group as guaranteed. New</li> </ul>	<p>numerous ethnic groups, languages, religions and cultures. If embraced, the different communities and their different aspirations can be focused on successful nation-building without the need to make them a homogenous people.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Khartoum's greatest failures that led to its decades of war with the South were the attempt to Islamize the Christian South. Had they left the South to be, as they have ultimately been forced to do, over two million lives would not have been lost to war and the country would not have been plunged into self-destruction for decades.</li> <li>• South Sudan must also learn to embrace rather than suppress the differences among its people. The country's new government would be ill-advised to pursue nation-building by coercive, hierarchical and divisive policies.</li> <li>• Rather than seek authoritarian homogenization, South Sudan would be better placed to pursue a nation-</li> </ul>
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				<p>governments thus awoke to violently contested multiple imaginings of the various age groups, genders, economic classes, ethnicities and ideologies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rather than embrace and facilitate these differences, Zimbabwe's government enforced new authoritarian nationalism that utilized state machinery to violently repress any opposition, branding this nation-building</li> <li>• The ruling party, ZANU, under Mugabe conflated itself with the state and, in its efforts to consolidate power and build a congruent nation, denied the potential for diversity, enforcing uniformity and homogeneity. The trend was to deny diversity and embrace a vague and unrealistic common nationalism</li> </ul>	building approach that accepts, embraces and cements pluralism
Sierra Leone	Reconstructing a state from the ashes of a long-lasting	Sierra Leone was a unique African state	NO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• After gaining independence, Sierra Leone would eventually face a destructive wave of civil conflict. The country's civil</li> </ul>	The main causes of the failure of post-reconstruction efforts in Sierra Leone are bad governance practices

	war	<p>in its recovery from civil conflict since it was not the longest (as Sudan's was), did not lead to cessation (as did that of Sudan and Eritrea), and it was not the deadliest (as Rwanda's and Sudan's are considered). Rather, Sierra Leone is unique in its failure to reconstruct the nation in the post-conflict era, despite overwhelming international</p>		<p>war started in 1991 and did not end until 2002. What is of interest to the present study is that Sierra Leone had in 1999 attained what Sudan has now attained. The Lome Peace Agreement was an instrumental attainment for the country and carried with it the hopes of the war-ravaged nation as well as international resolve to intervene in the conflict. Sierra Leone was initially praised by the international community as a "peace-building success" yet what was attained was a fragile, unsustainable and ultimately self-destruction form of peace.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sierra Leone had the benefit of the largest ever UN peacekeeping mission to date in terms of the number of soldiers deployed by the UN to the country.</li> <li>• Furthermore, the country received extensive foreign aid and assistance both to end the conflict and initiate reconstruction. The UN and the United Kingdom, among other developed nations were lauded for their extensive engagement in helping Sierra Leone's reconstruction efforts.</li> </ul>	<p>and systems, corruption, high levels of crime, human rights abuses, economic inequalities, an ineffective and dysfunctional judiciary, poverty, high levels of unemployment among the youth and the use of controversial administrative units. These are the mistakes that South Sudan must avoid repeating</p> <p>The Sierra Leone example provides vivid lessons for South Sudan. It is important that the country prioritizes the key issues that triggered the decades of war. It must be recognized that behind the clamor for the South's self-determination and self-rule were people's expectations that independence would enable them attain economic, social and political progress.</p> <p>South Sudan must work to make these aspirations a reality if it hopes to succeed in nation-building. This will translate to improving the health, educational and living standards of the people, investing in infrastructure, upholding good governance, reducing unemployment, balancing resource distribution and</p>
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		<p>support and local potential. South Sudan also has immense local potential and overwhelming international support, but these alone do not guarantee the success of nation-building</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was thus a surprise that despite having had perhaps greater international assistance than any other war-troubled African state, Sierra Leone would still lapse back into conflict.</li> <li>• The problem of the failed reconstruction can be traced to the fact that the root causes of the conflict have not been resolved and as such the international reconstruction effort in Sierra Leone has failed to address the fundamental causes of the conflict, including poor/bad governance, poverty, abuse of human rights, failure of public institutions, endemic corruption, underdeveloped rural areas and the marginalization of youth. These problems created the deplorable conditions that made conflict inevitable. As such, what started out as a social revolt against bad governance would soon become a senseless war</li> <li>• When peace was finally restored in the country in 1999, most of these core causes of conflict were never addressed. The post-conflict reconstruction of Sierra Leone witnessed a massive influx of foreign aid. Foreign aid agencies</li> </ul>	<p>respecting both human rights and the rule of law.</p> <p>If these aspirations are not met, any nation-building efforts will translate into war rather than prosperity. Nation-building for South Sudan must be much more than creating a government and governance structures, and having a flag and an anthem. Rather, it should involve the pursuit of national solutions to endemic divisive problems.</p> <p>The only difference between the then Southern Sudan region under the rule of Khartoum and the present Republic of South Sudan will be what independence does for the people of South Sudan that they sought for during the war. If that difference is not made clear and accepted by the people, nation-building will most probably fail as it did in Sierra Leone.</p> <p>It is important that nation-building efforts in South Sudan embrace the lessons of Sierra Leone and translate the nation-building theory into practice, rather than going through the motions of nation-building</p>
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				<p>including UNDP, UK DFID, UNHCR and the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone moved swiftly to aid the reconstruction, reintegration, repatriation and rehabilitation of the country. The UN committed over \$16.4 billion per year, the British government committed another £100 million annually and the US committed more than \$45 million to facilitate the reintegration of former combatants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yet despite these efforts, the billions of dollars invested in state-building in Sierra Leone have not succeeded in addressing the root causes of the conflict and have created a crisis of disillusionment among Sierra Leoneans who hoped that the involvement of the international community would help to resolve the issues that led to a decade of civil war. It is unfortunate that even to date, Sierra Leone is still a fragile African state and that the chances of resurgence of war are still high.</li> </ul>	without fulfilling the conflict-causing aspirations of the masses.
Eritrea	Establishing a strong,	Eritrea provides an	YES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eritrea is perhaps Africa's best example of positive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South Sudan has a lot to learn from Eritrea's</li> </ul>

	<p>vibrant and unifying brand of nationalism in a multi-ethnic nation, as the basis for post-independence nation-building</p>	<p>example of a brand of nationalism that can survive any challenges. Eritrea's nationalism supports a progressive nation-building process and has therefore overcome surmountable odds to be a success story. This brand of nationalism is critical in South Sudan today</p>		<p>nationalism even in times of conflict. Eritrea's history provides a rare case study of how gender issues, diaspora participation and emergent globalization have impacted on a country's concept of nationalism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eritrean nationalism emerged after a three-decade struggle for independence beginning in the early 1960s, which eventually overcame Ethiopian rule and domination. The UN- sponsored and supervised a national referendum in 1993, through which the international community legitimized Eritrea as a sovereign African territory.</li> <li>• Unlike any other African country emerging from liberation struggles, Eritrea displayed a deep-seated spirit of nationalistic unity, cohesion and social amity.</li> <li>• Soldiers fighting for the country's independence were the key agents of positive change, investing in progressive ideals of education, good health, gender equality and infrastructure development. Rather than destroy the country's infrastructure, displace its populations and annihilate available resources, as was the case in Sudan and</li> </ul>	<p>legendary nationalist spirit, one that survived even during the country's darkest hour.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The uniqueness of Eritrea's liberation movement and the subsequent exemplary efforts of nation-building are often attributed to the fact that the nation was formed on the basis of strong nationalism of a kind that has not been exemplified anywhere else in Africa, particularly during crisis</li> <li>• This was a country that retained its sense of nationalism during its formation and subsequent sovereignty, and never lost its sense of national unity even during pre- and post-independence conflicts.</li> <li>• While the country faced almost all of the usual conflict-borne problems of balancing race, class, gender, resources and power, Eritrea demonstrated a rare African case of success where nationalism presided over bi-partisan interests.</li> <li>• Even more encouraging is that these same virtues continue to prevail in modern-day Eritrea</li> </ul>
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				<p>South Sudan wars as well as many other African conflicts, Eritrean warriors participated in building the country and safeguarding their people during the course of the war.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This was perhaps the world's most civilized war in history, planned and waged by a people who were first and foremost, nationalists. The war did not produce the graphic horrors that most African conflicts have been known for, and even the worst of the violence carried a sense of humanity and control</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South Sudan must endeavor to build such a strong sense of nationalism as the basis of its nation-building process. If cultivated and maintained, nationalism can help South Sudan to overcome the many challenges facing the nation, and to succeed in building a leading African democracy such as Eritrea</li> </ul>
Congo	Continuous civil unrest, wars and acrimony in the post-independence era, and the implications for nation-building	South Sudan continues to experience numerous incidences of conflict among various ethnic communities as well	NO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Congo is among many African countries (including Somalia, Eritrea, Angola, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi) that failed to develop strategic approaches to solving their nation-building challenges upon gaining self-governance and as a result, their celebrations of independence were short lived.</li> <li>• While countries in the Central African region (Great Lakes region) have been relatively unstable in the past decades,</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Congo's never-ending wars and civil conflicts are to blame for the country's inability to consolidate nation-building success. This is why South Sudan must prioritize the end of conflicts with neighboring Sudan along their shared border, as well as an end to militia warfare within South Sudan since nation-building can only succeed in an environment of peace, security and stability.</li> </ul>

		<p>as with neighboring Sudan. Congo exemplifies a state that has continued to suffer frequent and never-ending conflicts even after gaining independence.</p>		<p>Congo has been the most tragic failure of nation-building since gaining independence from Belgium in 1960.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Congo's civil conflicts have been called "the World's worst war" mainly because of their protracted duration, and devastating effects and because of the participation of numerous foreign nations.</li> <li>• For four decades, Congo has been in the news because of famines, government coups, civil wars, border clashes with neighbours and assassinations.</li> <li>• The country is a leading case study of how factional interests in a state can fuel perpetual discord at the expense of nation-building, and that some of these factions might actually be foreign powers engaged in massive power struggles.</li> <li>• The country's violence started in 1960 immediately after gaining independence and since then, there has been a protracted period of conflict. The country has hosted wars that self-transform from anti-colonial struggles to secession wars, and from political movements to</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• While welcoming the assistance and support of the international community, South Sudan must be aware that foreign governments and multinational companies have vested interests. South Sudan should moderate the participation of foreign entities in its national processes, particularly because their vast natural resources, ranging from minerals to oil reserves are very attractive to factional interests</li> </ul>
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				<p>international proxy battles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Congo's never-ending wars have allowed competing international interests to aggravate perpetual internal conflicts in order to wrongfully exploit of the country's vast natural resources.</li></ul>	
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### **6.5.2 Recommendations for Further/Future Research**

As noted earlier, the current study was exposed to several methodological limitations due to time and resource constraints. It is therefore recommended that scholars with an interest in furthering this field of research should cover a more comprehensive scope, incorporating a wider sample that is randomly selected and more representative of the target population. Future studies could also employ more data collection instruments in order to generate more comprehensive findings. Finally, future research could assess South Sudan's progress over time in overcoming the challenges identified by this study.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: A Collection of Maps for South Sudan



*Appendix B: Geo-Political Maps of South Sudan*



*Appendix C: Unstructured Interview Schedule (for all groups of respondents)*

**Taking into consideration the qualitative nature of research, it was decided to employ unstructured interviewing. This type of interviewing is characterized with the following features: a) free-flowing discussion; no fixed agenda; b) no specific order for questions; c) the interviewer is seeking depth of responses and follows the interests of the interviewee; d) difficult to replicate as follows interests of interviewee and these will differ from person to person; e) largely conversational type of interviewing.**

**PART I: INTRODUCTORY NOTES**

**1.1. Before we start, please tell me something about yourself:**

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**PART II: QUESTIONING**

**Random Question 1: What is your opinion on South Sudan's independence?**

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**Random Question 2: How do you evaluate the current South Sudan's nation building efforts?**

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**Random Question 3: What is your opinion about the possibility of nation building in terms of economic prosperity of South Sudan?**

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**Random Question 4: How would you characterize the strategy of nation building in light of the social development of South Sudan? What are the major strengths and weaknesses of nation building in this domain?**

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**Random Question 5: What is your opinion on the political welfare in South Sudan?**

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**Random Question 6: What is your opinion about the possibility of the foreign/international interference with the development in South Sudan?**

---

**Random Question 7: What other country should be an example for South Sudan in its nation building efforts?**

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**Random Question 8: How does the current transitional period in South Sudan history imposes on South**



**Sudan a unique set of economic, social and political challenges to nation building?**

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**Random Question 9: How does the failure to address current economic, social and political challenges impair not just the economic and social development of South Sudan but also the stability the entire sub-Saharan region?**

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**Random Question 10: How is it possible to build a nation in South Sudan?**

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**Random Question 11: Can South Sudan transit from autonomy to independence without the active engagement of the international community?**

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**Random Question 12: What significant lessons for South Sudan may be exemplified by post-conflict nation building processes in Africa?**

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**Random Question 13: What are the immediate conflicts that South Sudan needs to resolve in order to achieve success in its nation building quest?**

---

**Random Question 14: What is the role of healing and reconciliation in South Sudan's nation building quest?**

---

**Random Question 15: In your opinion, what are the effects of recurrent conflicts between tribes on South Sudan's nation building?**

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**Random Question 16: Why many experts appeal to the necessity of building a nationalistic ideology in South Sudan?**

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**Random Question 17: Are there any viable alternatives to a liberal democratic nation building in South Sudan?**

---

**Random Question 18: What about a communist ideology in terms of nation-building in South Sudan?**

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**Random Question 19: What is your position with regard to the Security Sector Reform in the context South**

**Sudan's nation building?**

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**Random Question 20: Should South Sudan focus on the resolution of oil-related issues with Sudan in order to succeed in nation building?**

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### **PART III: POST-INTERVIEWING**

3.1. Also, it would be appreciated if you could weigh and summarize all the pros and cons of present nation building in South Sudan by pointing out its major weaknesses \_\_\_\_\_

3.2. If you feel that something was wrong or uncertain during the process of interview or, otherwise, you feel that the conditions in which you provided answers affected the correctness of replies, please specify

---

3.3. If you have any wishes or requests, kindly let me know

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That is all. Thank you for your time and participation in this interview

## *Appendix D: Participation Information Sheet*

### **Name of department:**

**Title of the study:** From Autonomy to Independence The Challenges of Nation-Building in South Sudan

### **Introduction**

The core objective of the research is to provide a literature and evidence-based discussion of South Sudan's nation-building task, detailing the social, economic and political challenges facing the nation in its transition from autonomy to independence, and to provide recommendations founded on a critical overview of international case studies, the nation-building theory, and the renewed role of the international community.

### **What is the purpose of this investigation?**

The purpose and broad aim of the study were found to be rather comprehensive, overarching and incorporating numerous subset variables.

### **Do you have to take part?**

A participant is not obliged to take part in the research. However, his/her participation will help to achieve valuable data.

### **What will you do in the project?**

The main task of the participants is to discuss the main problems of the research topic brought into light by the interviewer.

### **Why have you been invited to take part?**

The participants are chosen in order to clarify critical issues of research and provide important data.

### **What are the potential risks to you in taking part?**

There is no either potential or actual risk in taking part in the survey.

**What happens to the information in the project?**

The collected information will be depersonalized.

**Researcher Contact Details:**


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**Your signature**

**Date**

*Appendix E: Consent Form*

**Dear Mr/Ms,**

You are requested to discuss the topic of South Sudan's independence. Your help is highly appreciated, because it has both theoretical and applied significance. To that end, kindly read the instructions and sign the informed consent form please. You are provided with the possibility to express your own attitude to the problems which are going to be touched in the course of interviewing. Please, note that you are encouraged to provide personal motives and opinions. All of your responses will be used for research purposes only.

**Name of department:**

**Title of the study:** From Autonomy to Independence: The Challenges of Nation-Building in South Sudan

**Explanation of the overall aim of research:** This study was purposed to examine recent national and international events in the making of the world's youngest country, grounding the discussion on the nation-building theory; to provide case study analysis of other African and Asian nations that have variously undergone a similar or near-similar processes; to conduct an empirical primary data investigation that identifies the challenges that the country faces in their nation-building quest; to prospect on South Sudan's future; and to make literature-based recommendations on how to tackle such challenges, and by so doing chart the way forward for this young, troubled and yet promising nation. Thank you for accepting to participate in this interview. The information provided in this research shall be treated confidentially, only for the purposes of this study and shall not be provided to any other third party for any purpose whatsoever. If there is any part of the interviewing you do not understand, or any form of clarification you need, please feel free to interrupt me at any time. You can also opt out of any question you feel inappropriate or which you are uncomfortable with. The approximate duration of interview is 15 minutes.

**Sampling process:** you have been chosen from a purposive sample of 50 stakeholders with firsthand experience of South Sudan's nation building process. The sample was selective purposefully. Such criteria as age, gender, religion, were not taken into consideration while selecting members of the sample group. The members of the sample group were selected under the criterion of their professional affiliation to nation-building processes. The main idea in the sampling process was to create a pluralistic group of respondents which are connected with each other because of their direct duties in the domain of nation-building.

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
- I understand that I can withdraw my data from the study at any time.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will remain confidential and no information that identifies me will be made publicly available.
- I consent to being a participant in the project
- I consent to being audio and video recorded as part of the project [delete which is not being used] Yes/ No

#### **DECLARATION**

**I.....(full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.**

**I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.**

**SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT**

**DATE**

.....

.....